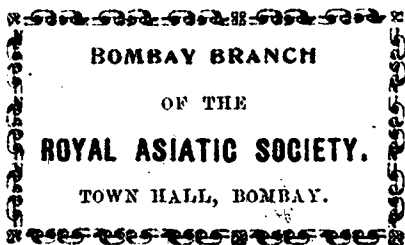


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VOLUME FIRST.

NOTES

OF THE

VOYAGE OF THE MORRISON

FROM CANTON TO JAPAN.

BY C. W. KING.

P R E F A C E .

RETURNING from England to the United States, in the spring of 1836, I had the pleasure to become acquainted with G—— S——, Esq., the director of the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, one of my fellow-passengers. With this gentleman I had many conversations on the condition of the tribes inhabiting the western part of the American continent, and the probability that they had ever been in intercourse with the nations occupying the opposite shores of the Pacific. In one of these conversations, he gave me an account of the wreck of a Japanese junk, about two years before, on one of the islands north of the mouth of the Oregon. Mr. S. was then at Fort Vancouver, the H. B. Company's establishment on that river; and learning that some shipwrecked strangers were in the hands of the Indians in that direction, he sent a party, and rescued or ransomed them.

Their story was, that they were three survivors of a numerous crew, which had sailed from a port in Japan eighteen months before; and that, driven out of their course by a tempest, and having lost their reckoning, they had been tossed for this length of time on the ocean, subsisting on rain water, and the rice with which their junk was laden.

But for the humane interest taken in them by Mr. S., they would have passed the remainder of their lives in slavery.

No opportunity presenting for their more direct return to their own country, Mr. S. had sent them in one of the Company's vessels to England, and thence they had already been forwarded to China.*

On my arrival in China, in November of the same year, I was agreeably surprised to find, in the house of the Rev. C. Gutzlaff, the very Japanese whose story had been told me on the Atlantic by their deliverer from an Indian slavery.

* This gentleman has kindly sent me, since my return to China, two parcels of American wild rice (*zizania aquatica*) which one of the Hong merchants enabled me to place in the hands of a mandarin of rank going to a northern station. There is, no doubt, much overflowed soil in Houquang, along the banks of the grand canal, and in Chinese Tartary, where this rice would flourish, and where it would be a valuable gift to the poorer inhabitants.

They were under the official care of the Superintendent of British Commerce in China, waiting an opportunity to return to their country.

A few weeks after this, the owners of the brig *Himmaleh* despatched her to the southward to make a commercial and missionary tour of the Archipelago, with particular reference to the coasts of Celebes and Borneo. There, if anywhere, it was thought that the influence which has gone out from Batavia and Manila as its foci, to repress the improvement of the islanders, might have failed to operate. Capt. Fraser was accompanied in this expedition by G. T. Lay, Esq., an accomplished Englishman, who had served under Capt. Beechy as naturalist to the expedition of the *Blossom* in 1825 to 1828, and had lately come out as agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Rev. E. Stevens also attached himself to this expedition; and on his lamented death at Singapore, his place was supplied by the Rev. James T. Dickinson, a member, as well as his predecessor, of the American mission. These gentlemen were authorised to employ the winter in their southern cruise, and expected to return in the spring of 1837, in time to prosecute the same investigations to the northward, along the coasts of China, Corea, &c.

Mr. Gutzlaff, acting in concert with this plan, had looked to the contemplated voyage to the

northward as affording an opportunity, so long waited for, to return the Japanese to their country ; and having applied himself with his accustomed zeal to the study of their language, he had become able—though his helps were few, and the Japanese themselves imperfect tutors—to converse fluently with them on common topics. But I was not aware that, in soliciting a place for himself and his shipwrecked guests on board the *Himmaleh*, he, like other ardent men, had reckoned without his host ; the British Superintendent preferring that the Japanese should be sent to Loochoo, rather than direct to their country, on the ground that their return in a foreign vessel might give rise to suspicions unfavorable to their safety.

Meanwhile two other parties of shipwrecked Japanese made their appearance in China. One party, consisting of six, had been wrecked on the island of Hainan, and had been brought thence to Canton under the immediate care of the Hong merchants. I visited them at the Consoo house. They were strong limbed, intelligent men ; in both these respects superior to the other parties of their countrymen and fellow-sufferers.

Mr. Gutzlaff wishing to have their aid also in his Japanese studies, I made application to Howqua for them, engaging, if he would send them to Macao, that I would return them to their coun-

try. This application was unsuccessful, the men being under the official care of a mandarin, and arrangements already made for their conveyance across the country to Chapoo, the port from which the Chinese junks sail for Nagasaki.

The second party, consisting of four, arrived at Macao from Manila, and found a home with their countrymen at the house of Mr. Gutzlaff. Their account of themselves was, that they had left a port in Satsumá, more than two years before, for Nagasaki; that they had been driven by a typhoon on the northern shores of Luzonia, and that they were there seized by men of black skins and curly hair, who carried them into the interior. There was nothing improbable in this story, it being well known, that Japanese junks have been wrecked before on the same coast,*

* In the 14th vol. of the "*Historia General de Philipinas*," I find references to parties of Japanese wrecked on the north coasts of Luzonia in 1693, 1706, and 1753. The first two of these were pensioned by the colonial government, and having entered the pale of the Catholic Church, appear to have been maintained with great humanity, at the public expense, to the end of their days. The cause of the third party, consisting of fifteen, was espoused by the Franciscan padres of the villages near their place of wreck, and an appeal addressed to the government of Manila on their behalf. It seems, however, that in this case the authorities preferred to draw the sums necessary for the maintenance of these men from a private charity, founded by the Abbot Sidotti for the relief of exposed and suffering Chinese and Japanese. This voluminous history of the Phil-

and that there still exists a negro or papuan race in the forests and inaccessible interior of this beautiful island. Probably these Japanese were wrecked nearly midway between either the eastern or the western coast of Luzonia and the river of Cagayan, which penetrates far south into the interior of the island; as both these coasts and the banks of this river are lined by the settlements of the natives who have submitted to the Spanish crown, and *there* the black men would hardly have been met with. To these more civilised settlements our shipwrecked men found their way after much suffering, and were thence conveyed, or begged their passage, to Manila. They called the country where they had been "Tagalobo;" but as the name "Tagalo" is properly applicable only to the people dwelling around Manila, it is probable that they learned this appellation in the latter part of their sojourn, and applied it retrospectively to the whole region over which they had wandered.

On the appearance of these men at Macao, Mr. Gutzlaff addressed me in their behalf, and was authorised to draw for their expenses, and to take

lipine Islands closes soon after this time, and leaves us, I believe, without any published records, to which we can refer for similar notices of Japanese misfortune, which may have occurred under subsequent dates.

them home along with their countrymen in the Himmaleh.

The presence of these three parties of shipwrecked Japanese in China at the same moment, shows how frequently and how far their vessels may be driven from their courses; and that no navigator should be surprised to find traces of their manners or language, anywhere on the islands or shores of the Pacific.

While waiting for the return of the Himmaleh from the southward, the feelings of the British Superintendent, on the subject of the return of the men, became known to me; and of course I relinquished all interest in their re-conveyance to their country.

On the 18th June, H. B. M. S. Raleigh arrived at Macao; and I was soon after informed by Mr. Gutzlaff that he should embark for Loochoo in her, in a few days, taking the three Japanese wrecked on the American coast with him. I acceded with pleasure to this arrangement; and not feeling at liberty, as an American, to send a vessel with shipwrecked men to Japan, unless it could be said of them, or of some of them, *that they had been wrecked on the coast of America*, I requested that the four Japanese from Manila might also be permitted to go in the Raleigh, and not be separated from their countrymen and their only interpreter. At this moment it probably

occurred to the British Superintendent that the conveyance of the Japanese, even to Loochoo, in a *British man of war*, would be more likely to awaken suspicion than their return quite to Japan in a private vessel. And, however indisposed, as a British officer, to give the American flag a possible advantage over his own, he doubtless saw that our ships, having been less formally refused admission to Japan, were better instruments of accomplishing a mission, not of mercantile speculation, but of mere humanity.

These reasons, or others of which I am not aware, led the Superintendent to say to me, that if I wished to try the visit to Japan, the business of the Raleigh on the coast of China would not detain Mr. Gutzlaff long ; that the Raleigh would meet my vessel at Napakiang, and that Mr. Gutzlaff and the Japanese would then be put on board her. This proposition I declined, on the ground that the Japanese, once on board a British man of war, would still lie under strong suspicion. This only objection was then obviated by a free permission to embark the men at Macao, stopping only at Napakiang for Mr. Gutzlaff. Meanwhile, so completely had I lost my interest in the relinquished expedition to Japan, that I pledged myself to it, once more, with great reluctance. I had to go over again and again the circumstances of the voyage, the apparently providential

events which now placed in my hands men who had been wrecked on our own territory, and the favorable opportunity it afforded for showing our new flag in Japan, &c., &c. ; before I could re-awaken my lost interest in it.

The Raleigh sailed for Fuh-chow the 24th June, and as the 18th July was named as the last day of the rendezvous at Napakiang, it was necessary to prepare a vessel without delay, in order to complete my engagement. Letters now arrived from Singapore, dated 12th June, from which it appeared that the Himmaleh had not yet returned to that port from her cruise to the eastward. It was therefore necessary to prepare another vessel ; and, what was more painful, to consent to lose the assistance of Mr. Lay, whose presence was so desirable as a man and as a naturalist. However, Mr. S. W. Williams, of the American mission, engaged to supply the place of Mr. Lay as far as he was able ; and Dr. Parker also consented to leave, for a little while, his valuable hospital for the Chinese at Canton, in the care of the resident physicians, and to accompany the Japanese expedition. The desire to aid in any enterprise benevolent in its character, and which might be the means of impressing a new people favorably towards foreign intercourse, was the motive of Dr. P. for taking part in an expedition rather national or experimental than

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missionary. His stock of medicines for the voyage included the vaccine virus, it not being distinctly understood whether the Japanese are, or are not, acquainted with it.

Lest any casualty should deprive us of the aid of Mr. Gutzlaff, some papers, explaining the objects of our visit, were prepared, and kindly translated into Chinese by the Rev. E. C. Bridgman and J. R. Morrison, Esq. A question now arose whether the vessel prepared for this voyage should be *armed or not*. Among the islands to the southward we had directed the use of a sufficient armament in the voyage of the *Himmaleh*, believing that the sight of it is, among the petty tribes in that quarter, the best preventive of theft and piracy. This was the opinion of most early navigators, and is still supported by the practice of all, or almost all, who now visit the Malayan and Polynesian islanders.

The case appeared to me quite different, however, as to the voyage now contemplated. If not admitted to the ports of Japan, there was nothing to be apprehended in the intermediate seas, they being free from pirates, and the Loochooans and other islanders perfectly harmless. If admitted, the usual embarrassing requisition to give up the ship's armament could be settled by replying, "she has none." We had every reason to suppose that this requisition would be made, and

that we should in vain attempt to evade a demand, to which even the Russian embassy of 1804 had submitted. In this case an armament could serve no purpose, unless it were to awaken suspicion. I therefore directed the ship's guns to be left behind, not only for the above reasons, but because "*dulce mihi nomen pacis*;" and I was desirous that our whole expedition should wear an aspect essentially and entirely peaceful.

Another question arose at the same time; whether Christian books for distribution on the voyage should be taken or avoided. No difference of opinion could exist on the propriety of diffusing Christian knowledge as a general rule; the question only respected this particular voyage. It was remembered that foreign intercourse was associated, in the view of the rulers of Japan, with the introduction of a foreign religion. Two centuries ago, Catholicism was there the object, whatever the true cause may have been, of terrible persecution. I am not disposed to believe that Catholicism was ever so firmly established in Japan as to feel at liberty to throw off the mask, and to assert all its proud pretensions. But, whether justly or not, it did awaken against itself the vengeance of several successive emperors, until the axe, the slow fire, the "*fosse*," the sword, and the volcanic crater, had swept away both the priest and the convert. Ever since

that time, the ostensible, if not the only object, in the exclusion of foreigners, seems always to have been to make impossible the revival of Catholicism. The Japanese government is not ignorant of the distinction between the Catholic and the Protestant ; neither, if we can credit the history of its acts, is it unaware of the resemblance. The Dutch have been told that this knowledge was possessed ; and, notwithstanding, they have been forbidden to preach or teach the reformed doctrines. As a practical question in the present case, the alternative lay within a still narrower compass. There were but few Christian books ready for distribution in China, and it was therefore the more easily determined not to risk, for their sake, the hopes of general intercourse. The fact that these books were *in Chinese*, did not alter the question, as some of the closest restrictions on the trade between China and Japan are said to have been imposed, because Christian books were imported in the junks from the former country. If the decision, to take no books on the present expedition, were a wrong one, Mr. Gutzlaff has the singular merit of being alone in the right on the question. He was greatly disappointed that the few books lying ready were not brought with us. It may be added, in farther support of the determination, that the Himmaleh was intended to be employed for

the diffusion of information along the Chinese coasts for a part of the summer.

It remained only to provide the vessel prepared for this voyage, with a cargo, a supercargo, and a port of destination. Some British and Dutch goods, not saleable at the moment in China, were taken on board, to meet the first necessity; and the writer having a month or two before him, when his presence in Canton was not necessary, reluctantly consented to supply the second. The readiness with which Mrs. King consented to share the "*disagréments*" of the voyage, left him no excuse, while her presence gave an additional pledge that its design was purely peaceful.

It is well known that the port of Nagasaki is the only one in Japan not closed entirely against foreign intercourse. Others have, however, been visited at different times by foreign ships, and, though never permitted to trade, there is no instance of late years in which these visitors have been denied refreshments. The more natural course was to proceed to Nagasaki; but, on the other hand, the presence of the Dutch at that place, and the lessons taught by their submissions to the local officers, made it inexpedient to select it for the delivery of the Japanese, or as the scene of a negotiation in favor of American intercourse. No republican could be expected to "compliment the banyos;" and no sensible

Dutchman could be expected to desire a Yankee competitor. The first object of the voyage was to restore to the emperor of Japan some of his unfortunate subjects; and where could they be so properly landed as at his own imperial residence. This object being accomplished, the imperial pleasure could be known on the subject of American intercourse without a tedious reference? The expedition would thus gain its prize at once, or return, unsuccessful, to its starting-point without any great expenditure of money or patience. If it might be, that some Cyrus now sat on the throne of Japan, all would be well. A good exchange of cloths for copper would satisfy the worldly wise, and nobler consequences delight the true philanthropist. If the policy of Japan should be found unchanged, as was altogether probable, two months' demurrage of a ship would be lost, and half a dozen passengers would for the same length of time sacrifice to a summer excursion *on the sea* the superior comforts of *seaside* summer residence.

The visit to Japan in 1837 must be judged under this explanation of its origin, circumstances, motives, and sacrifices.

CANTON, Oct. 1, 1837.

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VOYAGE OF THE MORRISON.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following memoranda have been prepared, chiefly for the use of American readers, few of whom can be expected to have access to the scarce works of Charlevoix, Kaempfer, Titsingh, Raffles, Krusenstern, &c. &c. They are confessedly imperfect, but yet sufficient to place before the reader, to whom the subject may be a new one, the prominent facts, in the intercourse which once subsisted between western nations and the Japanese empire.

1. Portuguese and Spanish intercourse.

The writings of Marco Polo gave the western world its earliest information respecting Japan. His account was, however, too little credited by his contemporaries, to be made the basis of any commercial or political adventures. It was left

to accident to bring the Portuguese, the great pioneers in eastern commerce, into actual contact with this remote empire. Fernando Mendez Pinto, taking passage, with two companions, in the junk of a Chinese pirate, from China to Loo-choo, was driven by a gale to one of the western islands of the Japanese archipelago in 1542. It seems uncertain what degree of credit is to be attached to the accounts of Pinto, or whether the honor of the first intercourse do not belong as well to three other Portuguese, bound to China from Macassar, who were wrecked on the coast of Satsumá in the same year.

The first reception of these strangers was favorable, and Pinto was sent to pay his court to the prince of Bungo, whose power at that time extended over a great part of the island of Kiusiu. It is said that he acquired great favor, by curing the prince of the gout, and then had nearly lost it, together with his life, by an accident which befell the prince's son in playing with his gun.

The same year, the celebrated Xavier arrived at Goa, and began in India his apostolical career. Other Portuguese soon followed the track of Pinto, whether by his invitation or not, does not

appear ; and a commercial intercourse began, between the western ports of Japan and Macao, or rather, the Portuguese settlement of that day, a few miles west of Macao. The rise and extent of this trade are only adverted to, briefly and occasionally, by the historians of this early intercourse. They were ecclesiastics, and the church, not the trade, naturally engaged their attention and occupied their pens. They tell us that a Japanese, who was suffering under horror of conscience, heard from one of the Portuguese traders of the sanctity of Xavier, and having left his home in search of him, found him at Malacca, about A. D. 1547. Xavier calmed his fears, and placed him in the seminary at Goa. Delighted with his new convert, and assured by the Portuguese that the Japanese merited his best efforts, he determined to seek proselytes, and to found a church in that empire. He landed at Kagésima, with two companions and his convert, from a Chinese junk, in 1549. The prince of Satsumá admitted him to an audience, and gave him permission to teach and preach the gospel in his dominions. The reason assigned for this reception, is, that the prince saw the attachment

of the merchants to the saint, and thought he should attract to himself, by these attentions, the resort of the Portuguese, and a larger share of their trade.

We must refer to Charlevoix for a detail of the miracles of Xavier, the opposition of the Bonzees, and the fluctuating friendships of the Japanese princes of that day. It is evident from all the histories, that these princes were then almost independent sovereigns, consulting neither the Dairi, nor the Kubo (or Djogoun) in their permission of foreign trade. In fact, the whole empire was then afflicted with all the plagues of the feudal system, and a prey to frequent intestine commotion and civil war.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the prince of Satsumá to attract the Portuguese to his harbors, they appear to have had reasons for preferring the port of Firando, on an island to the northwest. Thither Xavier repaired, and was well received. He soon perceived, however, that if the favor of a petty prince was worth seeking, much more that of the head of the empire. Miaco was at that time the residence of the Dairi and the Kubo, but nevertheless, half deserted and

in ruins, from the disturbed state of the times. Thither Xavier determined to proceed ; and though hostile parties were traversing the country, the roads broken up and bridges destroyed, the zealous missionary accomplished his purpose. Unhappily, he could obtain no audience, either of the spiritual or temporal ruler ; and, unsuccessful also in his public preachings, he returned to Firando. Had we not been told of his possession of the gift of tongues, we could easily explain his ill success in his public ministrations. It would appear from the annals of those times, that most of the first Catholic missionaries, instead of being popular favorites, were very often the objects of public derision and abuse. Curiosity was, however, awakened ; and Xavier appears next as an object at least of general interest, complaining that crowds of visitors left him no time to say mass, or even to recite his breviary. His journeys through the principalities of Kinsin ; his public disputations with the Bonzees ; to say nothing of his miracles ; added to his celebrity : and the faith he preached, had acquired many followers before he left Japan, in November, 1551. He never returned, death putting a

period to his labors, the year after, at Sancian. His successor relied, for the building up of the church in Japan, chiefly on private efforts—such as the relief of the poor, the support of hospitals, &c. These measures were eminently successful, and led on to greater things. In 1559 we find one of the ablest of the Jesuits preaching in Miaco by permission of the Kubo ; and though opposed by the populace and the Bonzees, as before, gaining friends, if not converts, among the highest circles of the court. Three years later, the prince of Omúra became the firm supporter of the foreigners, opening his ports to the Portuguese, and his territories to the missionaries. From Omúra the faith spread into Arima, Simábara, and other neighboring principalities.

In 1565 the friendly Kubo was cut off by rebellion, and the favors he had granted were revoked by his successor. In the following year it is recorded that the Christians at Firando sent a vessel to India for the decorations of their new church ; from which it would appear that they were in possession of great wealth, or very lavish of their money. The prince of Firando had now become unfriendly, and the Christians re-

moved to a port in the principality of Omúra. The fleet which arrived from China that year, followed to the new harbor, and this so enraged the prince of Firando, that he despatched a squadron to destroy it, but without success. The withdrawal of the privileges granted in 1559 lasted but three years, when a new revolution placed a new Kubo on the throne, and the Christians were taken into favor again. These frequent rebellions against the chief authority, correspond perfectly well with the quick succession of quarrels on a lesser scale, which raged at this time between the feudal princes, and seem to have left but few peaceful spots within the empire.

About this time the Portuguese first pointed out to the prince of Omúra the advantages of the harbor of Nagasaki over the ports they had been used to frequent. Their suggestions led to the formation of a settlement, which ere long became an important city, and which retains an unhappy celebrity down to our own day. It may give some idea of the rapid extension of Catholicism at this time, to add, that the successor of Xavier died in 1570, having founded

fifty churches, and baptised more than 30,000 converts with his own hands. Yet, mingled with these successes, we have accounts of the apostacy of one of the princes, and the persecutions inflicted by order of another.

A still happier era for Catholicism opened with the reign of Nobunanga, in 1570. This Kubo was the firm friend of foreign intercourse; and in his reign, so great were the additions to the church, that when the "Visitor General" came, in 1579, to inspect the establishment of the Jesuits at Miaco, he was told that one of that order had baptised 70,000 converts within two years. The periods when Catholicism extended itself, seem also to have been those when commerce flourished; probably, because the prosperity of both was built on the same foundation—favor with the feudal princes and with the court. In these early times we hear of none of those complaints of the scandalous conduct of the mercantile adventurers, which are set forth in the wane of Jesuitism as one of the great stumbling-blocks in its path.

We do not think this an unaccountable circumstance. Probably in these first years of Portu-

guese commerce, cupidity itself was satisfied with the rate of profit, and the merchant and the priest, alike successful, had nothing to charge on each other. The merchant seems to have contributed liberally to the promotion of Catholicism, and to have had his reward in the favor of the Christian princes, until the Jesuit lost his influence, and both became the objects of a common proscription.

One of the most interesting things in the history of this period is, the account of the embassy sent to His Holiness by the princes of Omúra, Bungo, and Arima. Three young nobles composed this mission, which arrived at Lisbon in August, 1583.

The crown of Portugal was now on the head of Philip II. of Spain, and his splendid court was put in motion to receive these youthful converts to Catholicism from the farthest East. Extravagant attentions were lavished on them in Portugal and Spain. These were renewed in Italy, until the young Japanese were at length carried to the feet of His Holiness, and there paid their homage to the vicar of Christ. They returned to their own country in 1586.

The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal just adverted to, took place in 1581. Ten years before, an expedition from New Spain, under Legaspi, had founded Manila as the future capital of the Phillipine Islands, and annexed that valuable group, permanently, to the Spanish crown. It was a favorite idea with the founders of Manila that it should be made the mart of the East. To realize this idea, it was required that all the commerce of the Spainards between the opposite coasts of Asia and America should pass through it. Its merchants, thus favored, became wealthy, and impatient to share with those of Macao the further profits of the trade with Japan. It does not appear, however, that they had attempted to realize this desire so soon after the settlement of Manila in 1581. We do not find any mention of Spanish vessels in Japan so early as this; and as the whole period from this time down to the common expulsion of the Spaniards and Portuguese, is covered by the union of the two crowns, we think it better to treat together their intercourse with Japan.

The example of Nobunanga was imitated by many of his courtiers, so that when he was kill-

ed in 1582, his successor Fide Yosi (the famous Taico) found himself under the necessity of favoring the Jesuits, many of his best officers being their friends. He was visited, in 1585, by the chief of the Jesuit missions, and at the audience which took place, Taico granted all his requests. It is even said that the monarch's refusal to give up his Harem was at this time the only reason that he was not himself baptised. It is more probable that this great but unprincipled sovereign never felt any interest in Christianity farther than it could be made to serve his ambitious designs. Had nothing stood between him and open submission to Rome but the obstacle above named, it is natural to suppose that it would have been got over by men who seem to have absolved the feudal princes, friendly to them, from a commandment of at least equal authority—"Thou shalt not kill."

The bright prospects with which the year 1587 opened, were soon overcast. The Kubo began to express his suspicions of the character and designs of the Jesuits, and this language was soon followed by overt acts. The refusal of a Portuguese captain to bring his ship to the port

where the Kubo was, that he might see it, is mentioned as one cause of this unfortunate change. Another was also assigned—the refusal of the ladies of Christian families to share the royal bed. Probably these were, at most, only occasions for a change of measures, suggested by political views. Taico did not long conceal his determinations, and the first edict for the banishment of the Catholic missionaries was published June 25th, 1587. They were required to retire to Firando within twenty days, and to depart for India within six months, on pain of death. The crosses they had erected were ordered to be thrown down and the churches razed. The Portuguese trade was permitted to go on as before, but the merchants were forbidden to bring any more missionaries, or to speak on religious subjects with the Japanese. A hundred and twenty missionaries left their stations, in submission to this edict, and retired to Firando. An order then came for them all to embark in a ship about to sail for India. This was the *test*. A few obeyed, but the greater number refused to abandon their flocks, and once more scattered themselves

through the principalities of Omúra, Arima, Bungo, &c.

It does not appear that this edict was carried into full effect ; but the churches at Miaco, Osaca, and other principal cities, were destroyed the following year. The Kubo had now taken his side ; and the Portuguese envoy from Goa, two years afterwards, though admitted to an audience, could do nothing toward getting the fatal edict reversed.

Taico now declared war on China, and, as an intermediate measure, resolved on the conquest of Corea. The missionaries ascribe the resolution, not so much to ambition as to a secret design to rid himself of the Christians among his officers and troops, by sacrificing them in a foreign war. That he cherished such a design, is inferred from his after-life ; and that he was unwilling to accomplish it by domestic persecution, is shown by the fact, that of 200 priests and 1,800,000 converts then in his dominions, he put but 26 or 27 to death. Perhaps the monarch looked still further, and aimed at the reduction of the whole feudal nobility ; by permitting commerce on the one hand, and on the other, by sending his nobles to perish in

battle in China and Corea. However this may be, his vanity and ambition need not be denied. There is good proof of both, were all other wanting, in his demand made in 1592, that the governor of the Phillipine Islands should pay him homage ; a claim which he prosecuted for many years. This demand appears to have been suggested by a Japanese who had been at Manila, and who was employed by Taico to enforce the claim. The history of this claim is interesting, not merely because it proves that Taico was vain and ambitious, but as it shows something of the delicate and tangled state of Portuguese and Spanish intercourse with Japan at that time. A restless, worthless adventurer, to recommend himself to his sovereign, and to get employment, promises that the Phillipine Islands shall become an appendage of Japan. The missionaries are required to press the demand. Thus they become involved. The governor of Manila is embarrassed between the plain answer which his duty dictates, and his fears to compromise the trade with Japan. Several communications and envoys are exchanged, and by their tenor and language the Kubo is alternately pleased and displeased. At

length the truth will out, and the governor must declare that he cannot transfer his allegiance without the consent of his master, the king of Spain. The agents of Taico implicated in the failure of their assurances, charge the Jesuits with exerting their influence against them; and the emperor, enraged, issues new orders that their churches and houses be razed.

In order to understand the subsequent history of the intercourse we are tracing, it must be remembered that the Jesuits, and all the early missionaries, reached Japan through Portugal and Macao; while the later friars of other orders came through Manila, and mostly from Spain. Priestly emulation and commercial rivalry were not to be prevented so easily, as by a union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns. The Spanish friars and the merchants of Manila would not be excluded from the parishes and ports of Japan. The Jesuits and the Macao men were no less desirous to maintain their prior claims. The governors of the two places seem also to have taken sides, as masters of separate colonies rather than as servants of the same crown.

A new difficulty then arose. The Jesuits, from

Xavier down, had been polite men. From the first, they had bound every one of their order to subordination, prudence, and address. It does not appear that they were chargeable with any deviation from these rules, calculated to bring Christianity into disrepute. When the sad reverse in their situation came, they yielded to the storm; their "visitor" reminding them that "their business was, not to rush on martyrdom, but to win souls to Christ." The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustines came too late to share the first triumphs of the Jesuits, but with principles which precipitated, while they involved their holders even more deeply in the reverses of the church. They seem to have preached more boldly, but generally to have acted with less wisdom, and consequently with greater hazard and less success. Both, however, appear to have agreed in understanding the direction, "when persecuted in one city, flee ye to another," to mean that the fugitive should not pass beyond the boundaries of the persecuting state. They did wrong in misrepresenting each other, and in charging on each other the changes, which succeeded from worse to worse; but when the hour

of danger approached, instead of escaping, or even yielding, they laid down their lives with equal constancy, if their own accounts are true, at the same fire or in the same "fosse."

The war with Corea and China terminated in favor of the Japanese in 1593. A Japanese army remained in garrison along the eastern coast, and under the protection of its friendly officers, Christianity made considerable progress there.

Meanwhile the breach between the Jesuits and the other priestly orders was widening. The king of Spain and the Pope had taken part with the former, but their joint edict, that none but Jesuits should go to Japan, failed of the intended effect. Others continued to come, as the messengers of the governor of Manila, or under different pretexts; and from time to time exasperated the Japanese authorities, by open attempts to celebrate mass and to preach.

New troubles arose from another source in the year 1596. The galleon for that year, on her way from Manila to New Spain, was driven near the Japanese coast, and enticed, by the prince of Tosa, into one of his ports. Here she was embargoed, and her commander negotiated in vain

for her release. In the course of this negotiation, one of her company sought to produce an impression, by pointing out to the Japanese officers on a map the extent of the dominions of the king of Spain. The Japanese asked with surprise, "How is it that your king has managed to possess himself of half the world?" The Spaniard replied, "He commences by sending priests, who win over the people; and when this is done, his troops are despatched to join the native Christians, and the conquest is easy and complete." When this answer was reported to Taico, he cried out: "What! my empire is filled with traitors! these priests, that I have nourished, are serpents!" And he swore that not one of them should be left alive. New edicts of banishment followed; and the 5th of February, 1597, was marked by the martyrdom of twenty-six priests.

The annual galleon to New Spain was, in those days, the most lucrative part of the trade of Manila. Billets of permission to lade merchandise on board of it were of great value, and were distributed, by a regular assignment, to the officers, citizens, and public charities of that place. The loss of the one confiscated at Tosa was not to be

passed over lightly, and an envoy was sent to Taico to reclaim the ship. He received the messenger, but in an able answer justified himself. He declared that the Spaniards had behaved like pirates, and that their property had been confiscated, as such. He offered a safe-conduct to all Spanish ships which should come with no missionaries on board ; he authorised the governor of Manila to punish, in the same way, any Japanese at that place who should merit it ; but as for the galleon, he would not give her up. We need not attempt, at this distance of time, to determine whether she was or was not a lawful prize.

The new persecutions now gave rise to mutual recriminations ; and the merchants, the Jesuits, and the priests of other orders, charged each other with the present distress. As to foreign commerce, it seems always to have been regarded up to this time with favor by the Japanese. If the feudal princes were ever, at any time, ready to quarrel with the merchant, it was because he *would not come to their port*. The emperors seem never to have forbidden any importation, except of priests. If commerce con-

tributed at all to the late edicts, it did so through the mutual misrepresentations of the rival merchants of Macao and Manila ; and perhaps, through some few instances of personal misconduct. The idea of protecting domestic interests, by the discouragement of commerce, seems never to this day to have entered into the head of a Chinese or Japanese. As to the Jesuits, the charges laid against them were rebutted by strong vindications at the time ; and both the king of Spain and his Holiness appear to have uniformly taken their part. Among other things, they were accused of the possession of great wealth. This led to an exposition of their means of support. It appeared that they started with an annual allowance of 500 crowns from the king of Portugal, which was afterward increased to 1000 crowns. The city of Macao invested them with one valuable right of citizenship, in allowing them the profits on 50, out of 1600 bales of silk, shipped annually from that port to Japan. Their share was afterwards increased to 90 bales. This connexion with commerce the Jesuits defended by many precedents, particularly by the custom of granting the annual profits on a cer-

tain quantity of sugars shipped to Europe, to the missions in Brazil. Besides these moderate subsidies, the Jesuit missions were supported by their Japanese friends and converts. The triumph of the Portuguese over the Spanish party was at length assured, by the superior influence of the former in Europe; and a bull was issued in 1598, requiring all 'religieux' of other orders, who wished to visit Japan, to go out via Macao, under the Portuguese flag. All who had found their way thither, via Manila, were required to return.

As an additional justification of the Jesuits, it is recorded that an Augustine friar published a vindication of them at Acapulco, and that this was signed by a *great number of Japanese*, as well as Spaniards and others, at that port. This record throws light on the personal enterprise of the Japanese of that age. It appears, therefore, more probable that the zealous missionaries from Manila were the party the least unjustly charged with bringing Catholicism in Japan into distrust. Perhaps no prudence on their part, however, would have prevented the suspicious Taico from taking measures against any influence gaining ground in his dominions in favor of the

King of Spain. But there is one count, from which neither Jesuit, Dominican, Augustine, or Franciscan can be discharged. They took no proper measures to make the true spirit and tendency of Christianity known. Though masters of the native language, the Bible was never, that we hear, translated into it; and though admitted to the royal presence, their entrée was never used to teach that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world. The bearings of Christianity on the relations of ruler and subject were never shown. Their converts among the princes do not seem to have been even taught that war is no proper employment for the followers of the Prince of Peace. The Jesuit sought to gain his ends by favor; and the noble, his by force. The sad result was, that the spiritual guide fell under the denunciation "cursed be the man who putteth his trust in man;" while they who "took the sword, perished by the sword."

In September, 1598, Taico died, and soon after the supreme authority was usurped by the prince to whom he had committed his infant son. The Christians breathed again. Yeye Yason, or Gongin, the new Kubo, fixed his residence at

Surunga ; and though some of the petty princes exercised the right of persecution occasionally, Catholicism, on the whole, flourished for the first ten years of his reign. The return of many of the Christian officers from Corea, soon after the death of Taico, was an accession of strength to the Catholic cause. The Spanish party, however, became involved in troubles again as early as 1604. The Kubo, hearing that the governor of the Phillipines was attempting the conquest of the Moluccas, ordered all the Spanish priests to be gone. A more general edict against public preachers followed in 1606, but neither of these seem to have been acted on. The number of converts now amounted again to 1,800,000. Commerce was also in a flourishing state, its profits set down at 100 per cent ; and the returns enriching Macao especially with an annual import of 2 or 3000 chests of silver and some hundreds of tons of gold ! Maníla, too, had its share. These statements of profits are, however, too imperfect to be relied on ; nor do we know that there are any correct returns of this trade in existence at the present time.

In 1608, a sad casualty, fraught with the worst

consequences, occurred at Macao. The crew of a Japanese junk, in a riotous state, provoked a contest with the military, and twenty-eight of them were killed. The Governor, Pessoa, by whose order they were fired on, conducted the annual ship to Japan the following year. The report of his conduct was not slow in following him, carried, probably, by the Dutch, who arrived there in the first ship sent by their East India Company the same year. The recent liberation of the Dutch from the tyranny of Philip II. and their vivid recollection of the enormities of Alva and his coadjutors, must be allowed, perhaps, to palliate their voluntary information, and their proposal to seize the ship of Pessoa, present her to the Kubo, and in future to supply the country with the articles which the Portuguese had previously furnished. While the Kubo hesitated, a Spanish vessel was wrecked on the coast, having on board the governor of the Phillipine Islands on his way to New Spain. The shipwrecked governor was introduced to the Kubo, who asked him if the Spaniards could supply Japan with silks, &c. provided the Portuguese were driven away. The reply was, that Manila could supply

three times as much as Macao. Thus doubly assured, the order was given to seize the ship, behead Pessoa, expel the Jesuits, and give their establishments to the Spanish priests. Pessoa, informed that his ship was threatened, returned to defend her, and on the first attack the Japanese were repulsed. The emperor in a rage issued his commands that every Portuguese in Nagasaki should be put to death. But this was unnecessary. On the 9th January, 1610, the attack was renewed, Pessoa and his crew overpowered, and the ship burned. Thus avenged, the emperor relaxed his fury, and permitted the Portuguese to continue their trade.* A small vessel, built by the Englishman Adams, was sold to the shipwrecked governor, in which he proceeded to New Spain. To pay for this vessel, which was no gift, and to frame a commercial treaty, an en-

* The destruction of this vessel is supposed to have given rise to the story of a Spanish ship having been cut off by the Japanese, after her three decks had been blown up in succession by the crew, and a vast number of the assailants destroyed. The story is given by Kaempfer, and thence has been introduced into the Chinese Repository, vol. 3d; but it appears, from Charlevoix and others, that the whole is an exaggerated version of the account given above.

voy was sent from New Spain the following year. The Kubo was offended by the state which the ambassador assumed, and by his lofty demands. He required permission to build vessels in the harbors of Japan, which was not refused. But when he denounced the Dutch as rebellious subjects of his master, and demanded that they should be expelled, the Kubo replied that he had nothing to do with the quarrels of Europeans; and that no one should be driven from his dominions who lived there in obedience to the laws. The same answer was made to the envoy's demand that all Spaniards who had no royal license to come to Japan, should be given up to him, to be conveyed to New Spain.

The papal regulation, that all priests should go to Japan only by way of Macao, was now annulled, very probably by desire of the Jesuits, who saw that of the two flags the Portuguese was the lower in the Kubo's esteem.

A new influence was now brought to act against the Catholics, by the establishment of an English factory at Firando in 1613. The Dutch and English made common cause against the Spaniards and Portuguese. The representations

of the former party appear to have been admitted; but when the others came to present their memorial, the Kubo replied, that, were the Dutch devils, they should be well treated as long as they behaved well in conducting their trade. The unhappy influence of this contest was first seen in partial persecutions in 1612 and 1613, and its full effects became apparent in the edict of January, 1614. This was a sweeping order for the demolition of the churches, and the banishment of the priests. A great number of these, accompanied by their most distinguished converts, retired to Manila and Macao. A thousand exiles are said to have betaken themselves to the former place, but many of them soon returned in disguise. But for another unfortunate event, Jesuitism might still have revived. The Kubo now resolved to destroy the son of Taico, whose authority he had been contented, hitherto, to usurp; lest, after his own death, the existence of a legitimate claimant should frustrate his plan of leaving the crown to his own son. The missionaries took the side of legitimacy; the Kubo was victorious, they were proscribed afresh, and whosoever should harbor them was condemned to death.

Their persecutor died in 1616, but they gained nothing by his demise. Fide Fada, the new Kubo, faithfully observed the last injunctions of his father, to eradicate Christianity, and not to leave within his dominions a single priest. The edict of 1616, unlike most of those which had preceded it, was carried into immediate and severe execution ; and for three or four years the persecuted Christians languished in prison, or endured all the torments that cruelty could invent. The number of missionaries was soon reduced to 56. In 1620 the persecution slackened, but was rekindled in 1622, when the distinguished Spinola, and many others, were burned. These sufferings of the missionaries are said not to have touched the sympathies of their adversaries, the Dutch. Under this date it is mentioned, that having captured a Japanese junk from Manila, with some priests and its owner on board, they denounced the unfortunate men, and gave the testimony on which they were condemned to death. It is necessary to call in the rapacity of the pirate, the avarice of the monopolist, and the vengeance of the fugitive from the cruelty of Alva to account for so horrid an act.

In 1623 the son of Fide Fada was associated with his father in the administration of affairs, and the new besom was applied afresh, to sweep Christianity from the land. A Spanish embassy from Manila arrived in the midst of the persecutions of 1624. It was rejected without a reception, as the creature of the religieux, and closely guarded until it was ready to depart. The persecutions of this year extended even to the violation of the Christian graves. Before the year was passed, the Spaniards were banished for ever, and the ports of Japan closed, except Nagasaki for the Portuguese, and Firando for the Dutch. Closer restrictions were also laid on the Koreans and Chinese. The part of these edicts which respected the Spaniards was soon after put to the test. Six vessels from Manila arrived at Nagasaki ; but the port was shut against them, and proclamation made, that if any more came, they should be burned.

A new expedient was now resorted to, which completely cut off the communications of the priests. A deputy of the governor of Nagasaki was placed at Macao, whose duty it was to examine the Portuguese vessels bound to Japan, and to send

by them lists of all persons and effects on board ; and the whole ship's company was held responsible, in their lives, if but one were missing when the time of departure from Nagasaki came. It is difficult for us to realize, at the present day, that there ever was a period when the Japanese merchants traded from India to Acapulco, and when an agent of their government actually resided at Macao.

Persecution seems to have raged, with little intermission, from 1627 up to the death of Fide Fada in 1631. The boiling crater of mount Ungem (Unga) was now a common instrument of death. These cruelties appear at last to have made an impression, even on the Dutch. Perhaps their horror was partly caused by the thought that they might come in for a share in persecutions, as well as for a part in restrictions on trade.

The character of the cruel, vicious Yeye Mitsou, was already well known. By his orders, Desima (a little islet off Nagasaki) was constructed, and to this new prison the Portuguese were consigned in 1635, amid the derision of the short-sighted Dutch. The armaments of their ships

were now taken away, no one was suffered to speak to a native on religion, nor to walk without a guard. Their native wives, and the children by these connexions, were ordered to be shipped off to Macao. The following year was marked by the introduction of the ceremony of trampling on the cross.

The death-blow of Catholicism in Japan was now about to be struck, and we are told that the fury that dealt it, was roused by the discovery of a conspiracy against the throne, formed by the native Christians and Portuguese. Papers, found on board a Portuguese vessel captured off the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch, are said to have brought this treason to light. It is not, however, necessary to believe this. It is easier to fabricate a letter, or the tale of a letter, than to conspire. Forgery is less hazardous than treason. Besides, the story has been denied most solemnly by the Jesuits, and their word cannot be worse than that of the Dutch, on whom its credibility rests. Moreover, another and a better cause is at hand. The patience which had borne with heroic, if not christian constancy, so many trials, was exhausted ; and the native Catholics of Arima and Simá-

bara flew to arms. Thirty-eight thousand of them fortified themselves in the latter place. The besieging army, eighty thousand strong, could not reduce the fortress ; and the Dutch director Kocke-becker, was summoned to its aid. He came. The walls of Simábara were battered by the Dutch cannon, and its brave defenders perished to a man, fighting to the last. Some apology might again be made for this co-operation at the siege of Simábara, had its defenders been the countrymen of Alva, or Requesens, or John of Austria, or Alexander Farnese. But truth requires that the measures of Kockebecker should be regarded as the alternative, which he deliberately preferred to an interruption of the Dutch trade. Our sense of his guilty choice cannot be expressed in stronger language, than by declaring it unparalleled in the history of Dutch intercourse with the East. Henceforth the residence of that nation in Japan can be regarded only as an Aceldama ;—its purchase, a river of innocent blood.

Instigating to rebellion, was now added to the charges against the Portuguese. Their ships were ordered away, and henceforth they were to be

treated as enemies should they return. This intelligence caused great consternation at Macao. Four of the most distinguished citizens were deputed to soften the rigorous proceedings of the government of Japan. They arrived at Nagasaki, in July, 1640, and were immediately put under arrest. The edict condemning all Portuguese who should enter Japan was read to them; and on their confession that they were aware of its existence, were sentenced to death. The following impious inscription was placed on their common grave:—"So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christians be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know, that the king of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the great Saca, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head." The ship which carried the ambassadors was burned, and the crew returned by another conveyance to Macao. The people of that city abandoned with horror all further attempts on hearing their terrible tale.

' The same year a revolution separated Portugal from Spain, and the new king of the house of Braganza determined to send an envoy to Japan. He arrived at Nagasaki in 1646. An

audience was not granted him ; but, more fortunate than his predecessors, his coming was not construed as a crime. Four years after the Kubo died. His successor, Yeye Tsouna, had no further work to do. Catholicism was extinct. Persecution ceased ; but the laws which forbade the approach of the Catholics, and made it a capital crime for any Japanese to go abroad, continued in force. The only instances we know of, in which these laws have since been contravened by the Spaniards or Portuguese, are the following, and with them we close this sketch.

In the 5th year of Tsouna Yosi, successor of Yeye Tsouna, (1685,) a Japanese junk was driven by a tempest to Macao. The crew were kindly treated and sent home. The vessel which carried them was admitted to Nagasaki ; and it does not appear that any harm was done to the shipwrecked men, but the Portuguese were dismissed with the order never to come again.

For some years after this, indeed, almost down to the close of this century, it is said that a few Christians remained in the prisons of Japan. In 1709 the Abbé Sidotti made the last known attempt to enter that empire. He had studied

the language two years at Manila, and embarked thence in August, 1709. He was landed on a rocky part of the coast of Kiusiu at midnight, in October of that year.* His fate has never been known. Different reports respecting him were afterward received, and from them, it is probable, that he met a violent death.

“God only knows,” says Charlevoix, in closing his history, “if a soil which has been tilled with so great labor, which has produced so many saints and heroes, and which so many martyrs have watered with their blood, shall ever bear fruit again.”†

* The vessel from which Sidotti landed, is said to have made her passage back to Manila in *eight* days.

† Should we regard the Catholic martyrs of Japan as Christian heroes, crowning a life of self-devotion by a glorious death; or must we suppose that many of them, at least, were men who centred in the death of the witness for Jesus, the obedience, which cannot even in this case be acceptable, unless it have been the closing act of a holy life? If this last were the case when martyrdom was popular, may not something analogous be expected to occur in our day, when public favor attends the act of self-devotion to the missionary life? May not many be expected to overleap the preparation of heart,—the series of minor self-denials which should precede—and thus, without the necessary training, commit the act of consecration, because the long series is more difficult than the single act?

2. Dutch intercourse.

The history of Portuguese and Spanish intercourse, which we have been following thus far, is rather ecclesiastical than commercial in its details. The sketches of the intercourse of other nations with Japan must be made up of a bare collection of mercantile facts and dates. We take, next, the intercourse of the Dutch.

The first ship of that nation which visited Japan, was one of the five vessels that left the Texel under command of Admiral Mahu in 1598, three years after Houtman first rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Four of these ships were lost in the course of the voyage round Cape Horn; and the fifth, navigated by the English pilot, Adams, was run into a port near Kiusiu, (some say a port near Yeddo,) the 19th of April, A. D. 1600. Out of a crew of one hundred and seventy men; only seven remained able to do duty; so that the Japanese had reason to regard the ship as one in great distress. At this time they seem not to have distinguished any better between *peregrinus* and *hostis*, than did the ancient western nations. The distressed vessel was confiscated, as she would have been in Eng-

land up to the time of Henry 1st; and the crew were ill treated, as they might have been on any European shore at a much later date. Afterward their effects were restored, though at an inadequate valuation; and the commander returned home with a part of his crew, and an expression of the royal favor towards his nation. He probably returned, though it is not said so, in his own ship. The rest of the crew remained in Japan, either by compulsion or choice; and one of them was just in the way of doing Catholicism a malicious turn, by engaging an ignorant priest to make a public attempt to walk on the water in evidence of his more than apostolic faith. What became of these men is not said, but there is evidence that their pilot Adams was not permitted to accompany them if they did return to Europe.

Some years passed away before any use was made of the permission to trade with Japan, thus obtained by the Dutch. Nevertheless, we are told that the coast of Japan had been examined by a vessel from Holland as early as 1586, and that the merchants of that country were extremely desirous to traffic in its ports.

The representations of the Dutch captain on his return, aided, probably, by later letters from Adams, at length had their effect; and the Dutch East India Company, which had been chartered seven years before, sent one (or two) small vessels to Firando in 1609. They were well received, and permission readily granted to establish a Dutch factory at that place. The Dutch at this time had no footing in China, and were therefore ill able to furnish the quantity of raw silk, which was the principal item in the Portuguese and Spanish imports. Yet, with characteristic selfishness, they immediately begged for a monopoly of the trade in silk. They promised that a rich ship should be sent the next year, but two years had passed when the second vessel, a small one, arrived at Firando. The opinion is said to have been entertained at that time by the Japanese, that the Dutch depended for their cargoes on the plunder of vessels of other nations, but any injury from this prejudice was prevented by the influence which Adams had acquired, and exerted in their favor at Court. The close alliance into which England and Holland had been drawn by religious sympathy, and hatred

to their common enemy, Philip 2d, accounted for the readiness with which he exerted himself in behalf of the Dutch. Could we look into the secret history of that time, we might perhaps see the Kubo, Gongin, listening to the story of Spanish enormities in the United Provinces, and yielding gradually to those impressions against their character and religion which afterward settled into hatred and disgust.

On the arrival of the Dutch ship or ships of 1611, a formal edict in favor of their trade was obtained. It gave them the full enjoyment of the privileges possessed by their competitors. No duties appear to have been levied on them, nor any regulations as to the quantity or assortment of goods, or as to time and place of sale, imposed. They were not exempt from municipal laws, but in all other respects they were "let alone." We have no account of the nature and extent of their annual trade at this period, but it doubtless flourished through the remainder of the reign of Gongin,* and that of his suc-

* It seems to tell against the tendency of Catholicism in Japan, that Taico and Gongin, two great princes, should both have stooped to persecution to guard against a disputed suc-

cessor, up to his division of the royal authority with his son in 1623. Persecutions had been the lot of the Romish clergy through the greater part of this interval, but it does not appear that any substantial preference was yet given commercially to the Dutch over the Portuguese flag. Both parties came under restriction in 1623,* the former being confined to Firando, and the latter to Nagasaki; a measure which looks very much like parting two combatants who cannot be trusted to show fair play. Three years after, a decided preference was shown to the Dutch nation by the reception of their envoy; while the Corean and Portuguese ambassadors were turned away. This mark of preference was followed by another embassy from Batavia, headed by the unfortunate Nuits the following year. This envoy gave himself out as an accredited minister

cession, or to ensure the quiet reign of a son, without taking pleasure in such cruelties during their lives. We are prepared to make allowance for selfishness or passion, but we cannot refuse a certain respect to actions done to prevent evil consequences to others,—to a father's provision for his son when he himself shall be no more.

* The Portuguese had no ships in Japan in 1623, they being kept back by an attack of the Dutch (and English ?) in Macao.

of the king of Holland, and was received as such; but when the imposition was detected, when his credentials were found to date from Batavia, the royal reply was withheld, and he was sent home. Appointed soon after governor of the Dutch settlements on Formosa, and not having forgotten his unceremonious dismissal, he seized two Japanese junks by way of revenge. After being detained on different pretexts for more than a year, the exasperated crews armed themselves, surrounded the house of Nuits, and made him prisoner, killing his guard. They then demanded their sails and anchors, indemnification for all their expenses, and twenty-five thousand pounds of silk,* which they said they had advanced the money for in China, and which was now lost in consequence of their having been so long detained. The garrison, seeing their governor in danger, and fearing to commit a violence which might be revenged on all the Dutch at Firando, complied with these demands. The Japanese were dismissed, and reported all

* The pound of silk is said then to have cost four francs in China, and to have brought seven in Japan.

to their government on their return home in 1631. When their story reached the Kubo, he ordered the ships of the Dutch Company, nine in number, to be seized, and the trade to be stopped. No explanation was given, and all the efforts of the director to obtain any, or to adjust the difficulty, were in vain. The utmost influence of the director could only effect that their merchandise in Firando, amounting to a million of crowns, should be sold, and the proceeds retained.

The Dutch relations remained in this anomalous situation three years. The non-arrival of vessels, and indirect reports, alarmed the authorities at Batavia; and a private vessel was sent to ascertain the true state of affairs. This vessel was permitted to discharge and receive a cargo, with which she returned to Batavia; but her voyage threw no light on the cause of these strange events. Meanwhile Nuits had been recalled to Batavia from Formosa, and kept under arrest. The impression became general that his detention of the Japanese junks was the outrage now so severely visited on the Dutch. In vain the poor man begged that he might be tried for his

offence, and, if justice required, be put to death. It was determined to sacrifice him as a sin-offering to the offended Kubo, and in 1636 he was sent prisoner to Japan. On his landing, he was given up to the authorities as the author of the outrage at Forinosa, and the mercy of the government besought on his behalf. The expiation was now made, the trade was re-opened, but Nuits was still held in suspense. An embassy came with rich presents the following year, the emperor was again entreated in favor of the humbled prisoner, and he was then released and permitted to return home. There are few instances in history of a more perfect execution of the *lex talionis*,—of a more humiliating recoil of private revenge.

About this time the Dutch renewed their prayer that the Spaniards and Portuguese might be driven from the country, promising to supply Japan with goods, and, moreover, offering to transport Japanese troops to capture Macao. Here is the "Nuit's" spirit again, seeking satisfaction for the failure of the attempt on Macao in 1623.

The Portuguese were now shut up in Desimo, and we may form some idea of the extent and

minuteness of the official measures resorted to, to abolish every memento of their religion, from the fact, that the Dutch were required to erase the date of their erection from their factory gates. Their full compliances, and especially their distinguished services at the siege of Simábara, in 1638, deserved a better recompense ; if there be, as it is said there is, a kind of honor, a social compact, kept between the worst of men. From this saying, the Japanese of 1640 must certainly be excepted, for at that time, only two years after the butchery of Simábara, they consigned their gallant allies to the prison of Desima, just emptied by the expulsion of the Portuguese. A little before, the Dutch had been told, “ You observe Sunday, you date from the birth of Christ, your prayer is to Him, and your confession of faith, that of His disciples ; the gospels, the prophets, and the apostles are your sacred writings ; and there is but little difference between your belief and that of the Portuguese. We have known this for a long time, but we saw that you were enemies of the Spaniards and Portuguese. We now require you to erase the dates from your buildings, to cease to observe the Sabbath ; and

as for your future conduct, the lords of Firando, will tell you the rest." Against these instructions, and the transportation to Nagasaki which followed, not a murmur was raised. The Dutch were now left in sole possession of the trade with Japan, and since that time, it is well known their monopoly has never been disturbed. Their subsequent political intercourse has been limited to an occasional mission from Batavia, and the visits of the Dutch chief of the factory to Yeddo, formerly made annually, but now once in four years. Charlevoix mentions embassies in 1644, 1656, and 1659. It was while the second of these missions was at Yeddo that two thirds of that city, and one hundred thousand of its population, were destroyed by fire. It remains to trace briefly the use the Dutch have made of the monopoly, to which they had so long aspired.

Of the assortment and value of their import cargoes, in the 17th century, we have little or no account. Their returns had been in silver chiefly, until 1641,* when the directors of the company suggested returns in gold. Japanese

* Some iron was also taken, costing \$2 per picul in Japan

copper was at this time in little estimation in Europe, because little known ; but afterward, on a rise in value, it became an important return. The first order, for 20,000 piculs, was sent out in 1655.

The first shock to the credit of the Dutch in Japan, is said to have been given by the loss of their settlements in Formosa, in 1661. The celebrated Coxinga (Kwo-shing-a), a native of Firando,* and carrying on a large trade with Nagasaki, was their conqueror on this occasion ; and it is said that the Japanese government secretly favored his daring enterprises against both the Dutch and Tartar-Chinese. Very probably the Japanese government was not displeased with the expulsion of the Dutch from so near an island ; still it does not appear, as Mr. Imhoff would have us believe, that its precautions were conceived in fear. At all events no interference with the trade took place for the next ten years. The state of their currency, and especially the drain of silver, then began to interest the government ; and the export of that metal was prohibit-

* So says Charlevoix ; but the common, and probably more correct accounts make Kwoshing a native-born Chinese.

ed in 1671. Up to this time, the Dutch had complained only of religious restrictions ; nor did the new prohibition affect their interests, as the export of copper and gold, the best returns, was still free. The export of the latter amounted in one of these years to 100,000 kobangs, and yielded a profit of 1,000,000 florins. The kobang was now fixed by government at six tales eight mace ; and the valuation system thus begun, was extended to the articles imported to the Dutch in 1672. They remonstrated against this serious infringement of *their* old privileges, but the local governors contrived to neutralise all that was favorable in the imperial replies.

The valuation was abolished in 1685, to make room for a still more injurious system, by which the annual trade was limited in value to 300,000 tales. Two thirds of this amount was required to be in piece goods and weighable articles, and the remainder in silk. These regulations were confirmed, and the export of copper, previously free, was limited to 25,000 piculs in 1689. However, by bribery, this restriction was evaded ; and the ships of 1692, 1693, &c. carried home 30,000 piculs each year. The import duty, which

had been levied first in 1685, was also confirmed and raised in 1689. Seven years after this the currency again engaged the attention of the government, and the kubang was reduced 36 per cent. in value, but was still tendered to the Dutch at the old rate. In 1700 the limitation already laid on the imports was extended to the ships of the Company, which were restricted to four per year. Eight years later an influential minister brought the subject of the currency again before the government, in an able memorial, a large extract from which may be found in Titsingh, p. 29. The result was a further reduction of the kobang to half its original value, in 1710.* These the Dutch were expected to receive at the old price; and, as a further trial of patience, the export of copper was limited, in 1714, to fifteen thousand piculs, and the number of annual vessels to two or three, according to the quantity of copper in store. In 1721 the fifteen thousand piculs were cut down to ten thousand, and under the weight of all these burdens, the Dutch trade

* The old kobang was valued at 44s. 7d. sterling, to 41s. 10d.; the new, at 21s. 3d.

declined apace. It reached its lowest point in 1743. Even the ten thousand piculs of copper could not then be obtained, for some reason or other, and it was proposed that there should be but one annual vessel after that year. Under these circumstances, the trade which had yielded an annual profit of five or six hundred thousand florins for the thirty years previous, would no longer pay the charges, amounting only to two hundred thousand florins per year.

Mr. Imhoff, at one time director at Nagasaki and afterwards governor-general of the Dutch E. I. possessions, has traced, in an able memoir, the causes of this decline. They appear to have been, the misconduct of the company's servants; the failure in their promises from year to year to improve the quality and assortment of their goods; their speculation and smuggling; the submission with which the first depreciation of the currency was received; the loss of vessels by overlading after the number was limited; and the alarm of the Japanese lest the specie, the metallic resources of the country, should be drained. As to the operation of these causes, it is said that the directors at Nagasaki were generally selected

from an inferior class, and that their peculations formed a regular subject of complaint from the Japanese to the Dutch government. Valentyn allows that the illicit trade was interwoven with the constitution of the company, that it did, in fact, form the principal part of the trade, and that vessels were often lost by being overladen with contraband goods. Sir T. S. Raffles adds, "The Dutch factory was a sink of the most disgraceful corruption that ever existed; the director submitted to every possible degradation to obtain his own ends, and the Batavian government never knew more than it was his interest to tell, of what was going on in Japan." Mr. Imhoff says, "We have so often passed our word that the quality and quantity of our goods should be better assorted, without ever attending to it, that no confidence is any longer placed in our promises by the Japanese."

As to the successive impositions laid on the Dutch *imports*, it appears to us that they should be regarded as the natural actions of a commercial party, which has deprived itself of the light and benefit of competition among its antagonists, and must go on to pay what the monopolist it

has created shall dictate; or, by a gradual reduction of his profits, ascertain when these are brought down to the lowest remunerating point. To put a stop to these reductions required more independence than the Dutch possessed. They remonstrated; but when all this was unavailing¹ instead of resorting to an ultimatum, they accepted a "gratuity of six thousand tales, by way of charity, on the annual sales." That more independent measures would have secured better terms, is inferred, because the retirement of the Dutch would have cut the Japanese off from communication with Europe, and deprived them of the news they prize so much, of what is doing in the western world.

The successive reductions of the currency, and restrictions on metallic exports, were regarded by the Dutch as aimed entirely at them. But on this point we agree with Sir. T. S. Raffles, that the Japanese government probably had higher aims. In fact, it seems clear that the enormous export of gold and silver coin was felt as a great evil in a country where paper money was not known. This drain is variously estimated at from 30 to 60,000,000 pounds sterling in the

sixty years when the export was free. Now, if the influx of specie from the American mines in the sixteenth century, at the rate of 6,000,000 pounds per annum, speedily reduced the value of gold and silver in Europe to one third what it was before, how probable it is that the circulating medium of a country so small as Japan would be seriously diminished by so great a drain. In fact, with the views which the Japan ministers possessed, we can only wonder that the export was permitted so long. The subject is not one beyond the range of Asiatics. A comparatively trifling export of silver, resulting from the Opium trade, is at this moment engaging the cabinet of Peking, and has elicited very able memorials from Chinese statesmen within the last twelve months.* The love of gold and silver, and the reluctance to part with them, are no doubt indigenous everywhere, even in China and Japan. The restrictions on the export of copper seem to have arisen from similar fears of exhausting the mines. Many years later we find a pretended

* It is, however, rather singular that the "*auri fames*" should happen to rage at the same moment in the Eastern and Western world.

friend of the Dutch, counselling that so much only should be exported annually as the country would forever afford ; " because trade is the basis of the friendship with the Hollanders, and copper is the support of the trade."

The discussions which took place in 1744, resulted in a determination, on the part of the Dutch, not to abandon the Japan trade. Some improvement probably took place in the mode of conducting the business, under which it partially revived. But the Dutch E. I. Company, which, in the first twenty years of its existence, had made dividends to the amount of 30 millions of guilders, and had been continued by successive renewals of its charter, was now on the decline. Its profits were exhausted in military establishments, and its difficulties increasing, the states general assisted it with a loan in 1781. Thus embarrassed, the Company seems to have been tasked enough to continue the Japan trade on the old footing, with two annual vessels, and cargoes ill assorted, averaging hardly \$300,000 per year. In 1782 no ship arrived from Holland, to the surprise of the Japanese. In 1796 the Company's dividends were suspended, Holland having

been overrun by the French, and commercial calculation and credit necessarily destroyed. In 1798 the Dutch made use of an English vessel, *but having an American pass*, to carry on the business of that year; and this vessel was admitted to Nagasaki, but not under the American flag. American ships are said to have been often resorted to afterward, while Holland continued to be a dependency of France.

Holland falling again under French occupation, the Javan islands were taken possession of by Great Britain in 1811; and the Dutch residents at Nagasaki had been more than three years without communication with Europe, when the expedition planned by Sir. T. S. Raffles arrived there in 1813. A notice of this bold experiment, and of the second trial made the year after, will be found in our sketch of British intercourse. Both failed to remove the president of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki, who kept his place until the trade with Japan was renewed on the restoration of the Dutch E. I. colonies, at the peace of 1815. The pertinacious M. Doeff was relieved by the arrival of a legitimate successor in 1817. Since that time the trade has

been carried on for account of the Dutch government, with the exception of the years 1828 and 1829. The two annual vessels are chartered, and the principal articles of their cargoes laden by government, which receives and employs, chiefly in the Batavian coinage, the copper that constitutes the great return from Japan. The minor articles sent in these ships are put on board by private merchants, who purchase, at auction, their licenses to take this part in the trade. We have no list of cargoes later than that of 1806, given in the appendix to the "History of Java," and which consists of sugar, tin, woollen cloths, chintzes, pepper, spices, sapan wood, &c. &c. valued at \$175,000 ; the returns for which were in copper and camphor, and the balance in favor of the voyage \$175,000. But in this account the copper is assumed by the mint at \$50 per picul, considerably more than the market price.

In 1820 it is understood that some relaxation of the trade, as to annual amount, took place ; but whatever may be the changes for the better, in the spirit or measures of the Japanese government, it is not probable the Dutch monopolists will willingly permit any tempting disclosures to

be made. If report be true, the profits now derived are not considerable, the expenses of the establishment at Nagasaki consuming the share accruing to the Dutch government, though something is made by those who conduct the private trade. This is confirmed by the fact, that when the business was handed over to the new E. I. Co. in 1827, they preferred to resign it again to the government, after an experience of two years. It is not, however, to be forgotten, that a company which can command the bayonets of a colonial government to aid it in settling prices for the produce of an archipelago, may think it not worth while to carry on a branch of business sufficiently profitable for moderate men.

We need only add, that six or seven years ago one of the gentlemen of the Dutch factory made an arrangement with the prince of Satsumá to deliver him a cargo at some outport of his principality ; but the Batavian authorities took effectual measures to frustrate a plan which might have affected the position of their servants at Nagasaki, as well as the profits of their adventure for that year. Even against this last considera-

tion, what promise of general benefit, what hope of a new era, could weigh?

3. British intercourse.

In the preceding sketch, an account has been given of the arrival of William Adams, the first Englishman known to have visited Japan. He, no doubt, brought with him strong prejudices against the Spaniards and Portuguese, for he had been a master in the navy of the "virgin queen." With the rest of his shipmates, he suffered ill treatment on the first arrival; and this is said to have been aggravated in his case by some injurious representations of the Portuguese. At length he was liberated from confinement, and soon found means to shew himself, as Charlevoix calls him, "*un homme de merite.*" He built for the Kubo some small vessels after the European model, and by these and other services became a favorite at court. The patronage he enjoyed does not seem to have been very splendid, however, as he besought permission to return home in 1605, and we find him, nine years after, second in the British factory at Firando, with a salary of £100 per year! Adams was not allowed to leave Japan on his petition in 1605, but was di-

rected, by way of consolation, to invite the visits of his Dutch and English friends. His letters probably had their weight with the Dutch E. I. Company, now in the first years of its existence, and induced them to send their first ship to Japan in 1609. Three years after this, one of his letters, addressed to his countrymen in Java, fell into the hands of Capt. Saris, one of the commanders of the English E. I. Company, who, acting on its invitations, sailed for Firando early in 1613. Capt. Saris had letters of commendation from James I., with which he repaired to the court of Gongin at Surúnga, where he was well received. He subsequently paid his respects to the heir apparent at Yeddo, and returned to Firando with full permission for himself and his countrymen to carry on a free trade. Saris then returned to England, leaving Mr. Richard Cocks at Firando as factor of the English E. I. Company, where he remained until the establishment was given up in 1623. The interval appears to have been one of considerable trade on British account; the Company sending vessels from England, and employing native junks in traffic with Siam, Loochoo, &c. From 1614 to 1620,

persecution raged, almost without intermission, against the Christians ; nor were victims wanting in 1622. A part of these last sacrifices may be placed to the account of a conspiracy against the Kubo, detected, or said to have been detected, in that year. The blows aimed at the Portuguese and Spaniards fell in part on the interests of their rivals, though their persons remained secure. Disappointed in their expectation that the trade with Japan would lead to a better access to China, and benefit their general interests ; and finding that it was by itself a losing business, the E. I. Company recalled their factor, and abandoned their establishment at Firando in 1623. The footing thus lost was never regained. Indeed, no visit to Japan by British vessels is recorded for half a century after this, except that of the fleet of Lord Woddell in 1637. But *Désima* had already been constructed when this visit took place, and the British fleet was refused access to the prisoners, perhaps because it had touched on its way at Macao.

The civil wars of England had long been succeeded by the restoration, when the ship *Return* was sent to attempt to re-open the trade with Ja-

pan in 1673. On his arrival at Nagasaki, the captain was asked what religion he was of; and how long his master had been married to a Portuguese princess; and if they had any issue. Information as to the fact of this state connexion the Japanese must of course have derived from the Dutch. Inquiry was also made, why forty-nine years had been permitted to elapse, and no attempt been made by the English to renew the trade. The answer was, that the greater part of the interval had been passed in civil convulsions and foreign wars. Several conferences ensued, which turned chiefly on the Portuguese, and the difference between the English and the Portuguese. A month after the arrival of the "Return," it was announced, on the part of the Kubo, that "his subjects could not be permitted to trade with those of a king who had married the daughter of his greatest enemy; and that the English ship must sail with the first fair wind." The captain then asked liberty to sell his cargo, inasmuch as he had brought it so far; but this also was refused. He was only permitted to pay in merchandise for the supplies he had received. On leaving Nagasaki, after more than two months'

stay, he inquired if he might come again on the demise of the queen. This, he was recommended not to do, because "the royal word, like the sweat of the human body, when once escaped, re-entered not again."* During his whole stay he was harassed with questions, but often surprised to find his inquisitors better acquainted than himself with European news. He seems to have been perfectly right in ascribing his repulse to the invidious suggestions of the Dutch. Another century had nearly elapsed, when the last expedition of Cook passed down the eastern coast of Nippon, after the great navigator's death, and decorated several of its capes with English names, which still keep their places on the charts.

Twelve years later, in 1791, Capt. Colnet skirted the western shores of the Japanese archipelago, in search of some point where trade might be opened; but was everywhere repulsed by the boats of the coast-guard. Wood, water, &c. were however furnished him, without pay.

* Compare this low figure with the prophet's lofty simile,—
"As the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither again," &c.—That which is of the earth, is earthy.

The year after Capt. Colnet's voyage, a select committee of the E. I. Company (appointed to take into consideration the British trade with the E. Indies) reported that it could never be an object for Great Britain to carry on a trade with Japan. The argument was, that the Japanese were now supplied with British woollens through the medium of the Chinese. Were these sent direct from England to Japan, the defalcation in exports to China must be made up in bullion, or by drafts on Bengal. The Japanese copper received in return for these woollens, to whatever market it might be sent, would interfere with the produce of the British mines. The result would be, "the exchange of our woollens for copper, which we have in abundance, instead of, for teas, which we have not, and which will always be required." The Committee add, supposing that woollens, lead, and curiosities for a cargo to Japan could be made up to £8,000, copper to the value of £30 to £32,000 must be received in payment, to the prejudice of our own mines. Thus Great Britain would gain on the one hand £8000; while the loss on the other would be £32,000. How happy would the merchant of

the present day be, to transfer to his own ledger this statement of loss and gain.

In 1796 Capt. Broughton visited the Japanese islands for the purpose of discovery, and passed some time in surveying and refitting on the coasts of Yesso or Matsmai. He was kindly treated, supplied with refreshments, and even boarded by the fishing boats as far south as the bay of Yeddo. Being in a public exploring vessel, he of course made no attempt to open a trade.

In 1803 the ship *Frederick* was sent to Nagasaki from Calcutta, with a valuable cargo of British goods. Capt. Torey, who commanded her, was refused admittance to the harbor, and required to leave the road in twenty-four hours. The Calcutta merchants were probably led into this attempt by the representations of M. Titsingh, who, as Dutch resident at Chinsurah, had been their neighbor for many years. This gentleman seems always to have looked back to Japan, and to his stay there, with the fondness so often felt toward an old residence, the discomforts of which are forgotten, but the agreeable recollections still retained.

In 1808, two years after Louis Buonaparte had

been crowned king of Holland, the English frigate Phaeton entered the harbor of Nagasaki in search of Dutch ships, with orders to "sink, burn, and destroy." On her being boarded by the Japanese officers, accompanied by two of the Dutch factory, an accidental rencontre took place, and the gentlemen from Desima were detained for a short time as prisoners of war. Notwithstanding this, the governor of Nagasaki obeyed the requisitions, and furnished the ship with all needed supplies. Opposite accounts are given of the effect of these proceedings of Captain Pellw; one, that every thing was yielded at his requisitions; the other, that preparations were in progress, which would have cut off the frigate, had she not hastily put to sea. According to the Dutch version, this unfortunate expedition had no results, but to prejudice the British name, and to compel the governor of Nagasaki to the last resort of an implicated or unfortunate Japanese officer, viz, to commit suicide. The English statement, on the other hand, relieves Capt. Pellw of all blame, and throws on the malicious disclosures of the Dutch, who had been requested to report the Phaeton as an India-

man, the whole responsibility for the consequences, whatever they may have been, of their disclosure that the strange vessel was a ship of war.* In 1811 a British armament from Bengal took possession of the Javan islands, and in 1813 two ships were despatched by the Lieut. governor, Sir T. S. Raffles, to renew the communications with Japan. The cargoes of these ships consisted of sugar, tin, spices, woollens, chintzes, &c., amounting to \$298,000. The returns, including debts paid in Japan, and goods left unsold there, amounted to \$342,000—balance in favor of the voyage, \$44,000. It is added that the result would have been better, but for the high cost and poor assortment of the cargoes, and the extravagant rate of freight. Dr. Ainslie, who accompanied this expedition, returned, with the impression that “the Japanese were entirely free from any prejudices that would stand in the way of an unrestricted intercourse with Europeans. Even their religious prejudices appeared to him moderate and inoffensive. Commerce with Japan, both in exports and imports, was, in his opinion,

* Vide Quart. Rev. No. 112, and U. Service Jour. for Mar. 1836.

extensible to a long list of articles not yet exchanged, and capable of great increase. We will not attempt to decide how far his opinions on the accessibleness of this empire may have been modified by the views and wishes of his patron and friend. The following year a second effort was made by Governor Raffles, in a single vessel, to place British representatives at Nagasaki ; but the pertinacity of the Dutch president triumphed in this as in the former instance, and he kept his footing as the impersonation of the old regime, until Java and its dependencies fell again into Dutch hands after the peace of 1815.

In June, 1819, Capt. Gordon touched at the bay of Yeddo on his way to Ochotsk, in a small brig of 65 tons. He remained eight days at the entrance of the bay, and forwarded to Yeddo, through some government officers, his request to be allowed to come the next year and renew a trade. He was guarded by eighty armed boats, and two or three junks, during his whole stay. Inquiry was made after the owners of the brig, and after the European news. The shores were crowded with spectators, and the brig was visited by two thousand persons, all polite, affable,

eager to barter for trifles, and admiring the samples of British goods, which they were permitted to see. When the reply was sent from Yeddo rejecting his petition, thirty boats were sent to tow the brig out of the bay.

This is, we believe, the latest attempt of the British to re-open this intercourse; though it is said that their whaling ships have sometimes touched on the eastern coasts of Nippon for supplies. It is further reported, though we hope on no authority, that these visits have not always been made in a way to conciliate the Japanese, or to hasten the time when their ports shall again be opened to the British flag.

4. Russian intercourse.

The coasts of Japan^{*} were first visited, on the part of Russia, by the Cossack Kosorewski, in 1713, and again by Spanberg, a Dane in the Russian service, in 1736 to 1739. He touched, in these years, on the eastern coasts of Nippon, between 37° and 39° N. lat., but without knowing at the time that this island was not a part of the main land. Wherever Spanberg stopped, he seems to have been kindly received.

About 1782 a Japanese junk was wrecked on

one of the Aleutian islands, and its crew saved by a Russian vessel. The rescued men were carried to Irkutsk, the capital of the settlements in eastern Siberia. The captain of this junk was afterward found at Irkutsk by Professor Laxman, taken by him to St. Petersburg, and presented at court. The cabinet of Catherine 2nd. determined to return these exiles, or such of them as did not prefer to remain. The son of Professor Laxman was appointed to accompany them, in the character of envoy; but it was thought best that his instructions and presents should emanate from the governor of Irkutsk, instead of running in the imperial name. Laxman left Okhotsk with his party in the autumn of 1792, and wintered in the harbor of Nemuro, on the north of the island of Yesso or Matsmai.* In the spring of 1773 he went to Chakodade, and thence by land to the town of Matsmai, the capital of the island, as well as the northern colonies of Japan. The reply of the court of Yeddo

* Matsmai, M. Klaprotti says, is the name of the feudal family whose representatives first carried the Japanese arms across the straits of Sangar, about 1443. Yesso is the aboriginal name.

to the communications made by Laxman, was forwarded to him at Matsmai. It expressed thanks for the return of the shipwrecked men, but left the envoy at liberty to leave them or take them back ; the Japanese regarding the country to which a man is driven, and where he meets with kindness, as his proper home. Laxman was also told that he had transgressed the laws of Japan in coming to the country ; but having done so ignorantly, he was free to return. As to commercial intercourse, a certificate was given him, on presenting which any Russian ship would be admitted to Nagasaki, but to no other port. The envoy returned to Russia the same year, having been well entertained, and ample supplies furnished him without pay.

The French revolution now engrossed the attention of all Europe, and ten years were suffered to elapse, while nothing was done to establish on the basis of custom, (the best basis in despotic countries,) the privilege which Laxman had acquired. On the accession of Alexander to the Russian throne, a memorial was presented by M. Krusenstern, calling attention to the benefits which would result to his Siberian dominions

from a commercial intercourse with China and Japan. These views, which M. Krusenstern had taken up on a previous visit to China, were adopted by his energetic government; an expedition to China was determined on; an embassy to Japan grafted on it, and the intelligent projector selected to carry into execution his own plan. The first object of the mission being to open an intercourse between Kamtschatka and China, the appointment of ambassador was conferred on M. Resanoff, the chief director of the Russian Fur Company. The expedition sailed in 1803, by the way of Cape Horn; and on the 26th November the Russian flag first waved in the southern hemisphere. Long negotiations followed the arrival of the ambassador at Nagasaki in October, 1804. The result of six months' conferences was, that the letters and presents of the emperor were rejected, and an edict issued, that in future no Russian ship should approach the coasts of Japan. Some shipwrecked Japanese, carried home by M. Krusenstern, are said to have been confined for life by their government; and if the character given them by that officer be a just one, they hardly deserved, or

rather they would not have long escaped in any country, a better fate. In the work of M. Krusenstern, this finale is represented as the appropriate result of Japanese policy; but in the account of M. Langsdoff, the naturalist to the expedition, the failure is attributed to the course pursued by the ambassador, "at first, all compliance, and afterward, all complaint." At a later day M. Krusenstern allowed, that "had the conduct of the ambassador been more circumspect, the results of this embassy would, in all probability, have been of a more pleasing nature."

After this uncereimonious dismissal, the Russian mission returned to Kamtschatka, whence M. Resanoff crossed to St. Petersburg over land. But before his departure from Kamtschatka, he ordered the Russian lieutenants, Chwostoff and Davidoff, to attack the Japanese settlements in the bay of Ariwa, the most northern of their colonies on the south coast of the island or peninsula of Sagaleen. These young officers, presuming that they were acting under competent authority, carried their orders into effect, in part, in 1806 and 1807. Nothing, however, could have been more injurious to the Russian interests than

these depredations, "having no object but sheer mischief, and hatched in the true spirit of revenge by an angry and insulted ambassador." The author of this outrage and his innocent instruments were shortly after removed by death. In 1811 the Lieutenant Golovnin was despatched from Kamtschatka to examine the southern Kurile islands, and it was his unfortunate lot to atone for the injuries done by his countrymen four or five years before. He was made prisoner by the governor of Kunascheer, to whom he had imprudently trusted himself, and marched to Matsmai. Here Golovnin and his companions were confined until the governor of Irkutsk had satisfied the Japanese government that the depredations of Chwostoff were unauthorised by the emperor of Russia; when they were liberated in October, 1813, after an imprisonment of more than two years. We have no account of any later communication, political or commercial, between Russia and Japan; but their vicinity, and the uncertain boundary which separates their possessions, make it probable that new negotiations will soon be necessary, if, indeed, they have not already recurred.

To the foregoing memoranda of the actual intercourse of European nations with Japan, we may add a notice of the unsuccessful attempts to open similar communications made by the French in the seventeenth century, and within a few years, if M. Krusenstern and the *Quarterly Review* be right, by two of the merchants of the United States.

Soon after the deranged and exhausted finances of France had been entrusted to Colbert, memorials were drawn up, under his direction, by Francis Caron, preparatory to a French embassy to Japan. M. Caron had withdrawn, or had been removed, some time before from the direction of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki; not, it would appear, from want of ability, but because he had made himself disagreeable to the Japanese. The part which Colbert took in this plan, is remarkable only for the foresight shown, in proposing to the Japanese government that the Protestant subjects only of Louis 14th should be brought into contact with the government of Japan. For some reasons not stated, this project was never carried into effect. M. Caron sailed for the E. Indies in 1666, on other business, and

was drowned off the mouth of the Tagus on his return. It does not appear that the plan thus laid aside was ever resumed by Colbert, or that it has ever engaged the attention of the French government since that time.

During the period that French influence was dominant in Holland, and its foreign commerce disturbed or cut off, it appears to have been the practice of the authorities at Batavia to use American vessels for their Japan trade whenever they could be procured, or as often as they were not furnished with ships entitled to wear their own flag. It is said (*vide* Quart. Rev. No. 112.) that the Japanese were instructed in the distinction between the Americans and English, and made no difficulty in admitting these vessels, under the old regulations applicable to the Dutch flag.

Besides these chartered visits, two notices, or reports of notices, are given, one by M. Krusenstern and the other by the Reviewer, of attempts to open a trade with Japan on American account. Of the first of these, it is said that it was made in 1801-2, the second in 1807. Both are reported in so many words, to have failed.

The American whaling ships are understood to have often sought supplies in the ports of the eastern coasts of Nippon, but with so little success that such expedients are now rarely used. The same reports of collisions with the Japanese are in circulation respecting them, which we have adverted to at the close of our sketch of the British trade ; and the same propriety exists that some inquiry into the facts should be made. It is due to the executive of the United States to add, that the expedition of 1836, which brought out ratifications of treaties to Muscat and Siam, was commissioned to extend, if possible, the peaceful relations of our government to China and Japan. This plan, which cannot be regarded otherwise than as an honor to its framers, was frustrated, or, we will rather say, deferred, by the death of the Envoy at Macao.*

* For the information on the geography, government, laws, history, &c. of Japan, which it would extend this article too far to introduce ; the reader may consult the authors named on the first page. Or, if these are not within his reach, he may refer to a synopsis of this information in the third volume of the Chinese Repository, a work which, if he feels any interest in Eastern Asia, will certainly be in his hands.

VOYAGE OF THE MORRISON

FROM

CHINA TO JAPAN.

CHAP. I.

VOYAGE TO AND STAY AT NAPA KIANG.

A FEW hasty preparations being completed, I embarked, with Mrs. King, the evening of the 3d of July, on the voyage to Japan, the objects of which have been explained in the accompanying preface. The ship Morrison, which we joined for this purpose in the roads of Macao, is a powerful, fast-sailing vessel of 564 tons register, ably commanded by Captain David Ingersoll. Including my fellow-passengers, the Rev. Dr. Parker and Mr. S. W. Williams, and our seven exiles, we numbered thirty-eight persons on board; to which list the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff was after-

wards added. On the morning of the fourth, confident in the powers of our ship, and the direction she was under, and having no apprehensions of a worse reception in Japan than had been accorded to Broughton, Colnet, Torey, or Gordon, sail was made ; but the calm of the day prevented any considerable progress. While attempting to clear the islands which give variety to the seaward prospect from Macao, our ship often became unmanageable, from falling into the cross currents, called, in the local jargon, "Chow-chow water."

The day did not pass without our remembering that it was the anniversary of the independence of the United States of America. Our party was, however, rather cosmopolitan in feeling ; and besides, we had left our cannon behind, and were therefore unable to make the loudest of the noises, which, because they have no other meaning, are everywhere understood to express the joy of their authors. We contented ourselves with thanking the God of Nations for all the liberty, prosperity, and honor of our happy country.

This and the following day being clear and

calm, and the sun being nearly vertical, the heat was oppressive ; the thermometer in the shade rising to 90° . To preserve the better the vaccine virus he had brought with him, Dr. Parker now inoculated several persons of our company. The Japanese looked on with much interest, but when asked to submit their arms to the lancet, their curiosity subsided. It is well known that this disorder prevails in Japan ; and Titsingh relates an anecdote of the scene which passed between two physicians-royal, one of whom did, and the other did not, think it beneath his dignity to prescribe for some of its poor victims on his way to and from the residence of his imperial master. Two of our Japanese bore marks of having suffered from it, and all said that they had had it, and therefore did not need inoculation.

Referring to the paper and tables at the close of these notes for some nautical memoranda, I proceed to notice the incidents of our voyage, so far as they may be supposed to interest or amuse the general reader.

The breeze which sprung up on the evening of the 5th, freshened on the following day, and drawing aft, assisted us to decide the point,

whether to follow the Chinese coast, or to pass out into the Pacific by the Bashee passage. We chose the latter, because we had reason to expect south-easterly winds in the Pacific, and with these our position would be a more windward one on rounding the southern point of Formosa, than if we skirted the coast of China.

This course being determined upon, it became immediately a matter of desire to touch at Botel Tobago Sima, and, if possible, to visit one or more points on the east coast of Formosa. The former of these islands is the most southern which bears the Japanese mark,—Sima, i. e. island—and is probably the most distant point in this direction, to which Japanese influence has extended. Capt. Beechey passed along its western and northern sides, and remarked its woody and picturesque hills, broken by valleys highly cultivated. Now, it is by no means probable that any part of the skill which has adorned this island was derived from China; for the emigration from that country to the nearer land of Formosa, is of recent date, and has not yet penetrated the interior, nor even reached the eastern coasts of that island. On the other hand, it is

nearly certain that Japanese intercourse or influence has long been paramount over the insular groups as far south as Formosa and Botel Tobago Sima; nor is it difficult to account for this fact, regarded as the result of a combination of accidental and designed colonization, of private enterprise, and political pretension. As respects the first of these causes, we have instances in point, in the parties thrown by tempests on the shores of China, Luçon, and America, within our immediate knowledge. As to the second, we may refer to the historical fact that the Dutch were preceded in their establishment at Zeland, on the west coast of Formosa, by a Japanese colony. The private enterprise and courage of the Japanese of two and three centuries back, are attested by the fact that they trafficked in all the ports from Bengal to Manila, and were even found in considerable numbers as far off as Acapulco. We are also told, in further illustration of these characteristics, that the Japanese were regarded by the Dutch and Spanish colonial officers as their best recruits; and that a hundred of them formed a kind of Prætorian guard to the king of Siam, which actually rose in arms in 1580, for the re-

dress of alleged grievances. The last of these causes may be seen in full operation in the gradual extension of the Japanese power to the northward, over Yesso (or Matsmai,) a part of Sagaleen, and two or three of the Kurile chain ; in the invasion of Corea, the reduction of Loochoo, and the curious efforts detailed in our introduction, to acquire the homage of the governor of the Phillipine Islands.

Having native Japanese on board, it would have given me great pleasure to note the operation of these causes, in the manners, language, and features of these southern islanders ; nor do I doubt a resemblance to the mother country in all these points would be discovered, growing gradually clearer and stronger as we proceed northward. But this design was frustrated by an intervention to which all voyagers are liable, and particularly those who sail in merchant vessels. As we ran on eastward, the barometer sunk gradually, and the appearance of the weather made Capt. Ingersoll unwilling to approach either of the points I had desired to visit.—They who are familiar with the naval life need not be informed that there are cases when a command-

er of a vessel must not be disturbed in the enjoyment of his own nautical opinions. And in the merchant service, where a commander stands under a double obligation to those who *own* and those who *insure* his ship and cargo, nothing but the presence and the consent of both of these parties can release him from his responsibility. Whatever he deems necessary to the safety of the vessel under his command cannot be foregone, even to the wishes or order of the person who has appointed and employs him. This remark is due not so much to myself, as to all who go abroad in the vessels of the merchant service. Ignorance or forgetfulness of it has exposed the whole body of mercantile voyagers to the undeserved charge of insensibility to many of the highest objects of earthly curiosity. I am persuaded, judging others by myself, that few of them feel less than absolute pain, whenever, for fear of vacating a policy or some other nautical reason, a spot otherwise interesting is passed by without examination. Few, I believe, cease to feel this pain until long after the forbidden ground has sunk beneath the horizon. It is not from want of intelligent curiosity, but because

duty to employers, to lives and property intrusted to them for other ends, forbids, that so little service to geography and general science has been, or can be expected to be done, by those engaged in the merchant service. Whatever the merchant does for these interests, society should accept as a gratuity; not forgetting *why* it is so little.

The weather, which made it proper for us to pass to the south of the Cumbrian reef, continued unsettled, when our favorable breeze left us on the 8th, 15 miles east of Botel Tobago. The sea continued to run high, and the barometer to stand stationary, until the 10th; and during this interval the motion of the ship had the double effect of making us sea-sick, and of increasing the smell of bilge water, until we were fairly driven from our cabins. One of the worst effects of violent motion on ship-board is, that it incapacitates for the great resource—reading.

For all the new suggestions of which it thus deprives the mind, I do not know that it gives in exchange but this one—that *vau*s—a ship, is the true theme of *nausea*.—With better weather and a leading wind, we approached the Madjicisima

(or rather Hatchicosima) Islands, on the night of the 10th, and prepared for some communication with the largest of them in the morning. This group, as its name denotes, (Hatchi eight—Cosi-ma islet) consists of eight small islands, on the largest of which the English navigator Broughton was wrecked in 1797. We had not Broughton's account on board; but we were aware that he found the islanders of Typinsan a simple, kind people, who aided him in constructing a small schooner out of the wreck of the Providence, in which he sailed for Loochoo, (or Macao,) and even prosecuted his voyage of discovery. This, we believe, was the last time this group had been visited; but inquiries had been made at Napa-kiang respecting it, from which it appeared that it was a dependency of Loochoo, and that there was some intercourse between them. Descended from the same stock with the Loochooans, but too poor to be much looked after by Japan or China, we hoped to find this people possessing all their mildness with less jealousy and greater freedom.

At 9 on the morning of the 11th, land was seen to the north, which we supposed to be the

Island Ukima. Soon after it was apparent that we had been under the influence of a strong current setting to the N. East through the night, and that Typinsan was the island for which we were steering. The position of this island on our chart differed about 18 miles from that assigned to it by Horsburgh ; and this discrepancy, together with the operation of the current, prevented our approaching nearer than eight miles, and, of course, our having any communication. In fact, we found ourselves this distance to leeward, and against the strong S. Westerly wind and an adverse current, we should have had great difficulty in reaching the anchorage on the N. East of the island. The design was therefore abandoned. When nearest Typinsan, it appeared to rise from a low point on the South East, to an elevation of perhaps 400 feet ; its surface generally smooth, with one or two eminences and bluffs, and to decline with a less gradual slope toward the Northern extremity. Off this point lies the coral reef on which Broughton was wrecked, and where a high surf was breaking. No boats could be expected to put off to us in so strong a breeze and to so great a distance ; nor could we

with our glasses determine whether the island was well or ill cultivated.

Our observations gave $125^{\circ} 25'$ for the longitude of the East point of Typinsan, and $24^{\circ} 56'$ for the latitude of the islet off the Northern point.

Leaving it reluctantly behind, we bore away for Loochoo, making large allowance for the current to the North East, and shortening sail that we might not overrun the distance (about 140 miles) before morning.

At 9 A. M. the following day, the Southern shores of the great Loochoo, or, as the natives pronounce it—Doochoo—were but 2 or 3 miles distant. They shewed nothing of the picturesque or magnificent; on the contrary, this part of the island reminded me of the Southern shores of Rhode Island, by its soft beauty, its very moderate height, its dusky verdure, its bareness of wood, and the conformation of its shores; here forming a bluff point, there sloping to a sandy beach, and terminating beyond in a cliff, on which the surf was rolling. I remarked, as we neared this interesting island, how much we differed in opinion as to its cultivation. In fact, it is very difficult, on such occasions, to distinguish

certain natural divisions into wood and grass, from high artificial cultivation. A proof of this will occur to any one who has admired, while entering the noble bay of Manila, the rich gardens, as he supposes, which form its southern shore, and who has afterward learned by traversing the tract which he pronounced from the deck to be highly cultivated, that it is, in fact, almost as wild as when first seen by the companions of Legaspie. In the case of Loochoo, the question was, whether it was the dryness of the summer or the removal of crops, or natural scantiness of soil, which made so large a portion of the island, as first seen, appear no better than mere downs or commons.

As we sailed North, passing the south point of Loochoo, the heavy sea, which had made us uncomfortable for the five days past, still followed, making it impossible to use a fixed telescope. Even close to the shore of this quiet Delos our broad, stiff ship was rolling her plank-shears almost to the water, though the breeze was light, and the day soft and balmy. The Kirrama Islands were now in clear sight on the North West, more rugged and abrupt than Loochoo, and ri-

valling it in elevation. As we neared the entrance to the harbor of Napakiang, the country became too well wooded and too varied in outline to be any longer compared to Rhode Island. Among other rounded or pointed eminences now in view, the one named "Woody Point" by former visitors, was the most conspicuous. It stands apparently 200 feet high, resembling, as you approach it from the South, the half of a volcanic crater or ruined coliseum, its concave side toward the S. West, and the undercliff beyond the terminations of its walls strewn with masses of fallen rock and débris.

At 11 A. M. we rounded "Abbey Point," and came to anchor in the harbor of Napa. The Raleigh was not there, and it was necessary to wait for her. The hills around the anchorage were occupied by numerous groups of spectators, but a full hour passed, and not a visitor approached us. We remembered that crowds of natives boarded the Blossom before her sails were furled, and thought perhaps that curiosity had been sated, or an interdict laid on foreign communication, in the ten years' interval. At length two poor uncovered skiffs or sampans came along-

side, well filled with Loochooans, dressed in the long, loose Japanese gown of striped grass cloth, with sashes, hairpins, and straw sandals, &c., as described by Captains Hall, Beechey, &c. After very respectful salutations, the usual questions—"Whence do you come? What is your business?" &c., were asked, and an irregular conference of some hours' length, followed. This was carried on in Chinese, very imperfectly on our part, with two or three of the chiefs of the party, one of whom we accidentally discovered to be the "Anyah" of previous descriptions. He is now 40 years old, is growing rather gray, but in our opinion shewed himself the most intelligent of the interpreters who visited us. His English studies seem to have been quite neglected of late years, for half a dozen ill-spoken words were all he could utter. We inquired about his old companions, Madéra, Jeema, and others. "Madéra dead, Jeema dead," he answered. As for the rest, he seemed to know nothing about them, and turned to others of his party when the names were pronounced, as if he had been just reminded of forgotten associates, and really wished himself to hear something of them. I was not

surprised to find that Anyah had so completely forgotten his English. He had had no practice for some years, and moreover, I am inclined to think that the Loochooans, Chinese, &c. must forget our spoken language with more than common facility. The present English interpreter at Peking, Show-tih, when he received his appointment eight years ago, spoke it pretty fluently. A few days before I left Canton, he arrived there on leave of absence, and called on me. His English was almost all gone, though he said he studied it still, and could read it as well as ever. Our first interview with the Loochooans passed off pretty well; refreshments were promised us, and a second visit the following morning. Before they took their final leave, a tour of the decks was made, but ours offered little to awaken or gratify curiosity. Our Japanese were not shown to them, nor were they told that such were on board, but the recognition soon took place; and I observed at this moment an earnestness on the countenances and in the tones of our guests, and heard a few eager sentences interchanged, respecting the unexpected inmates.

Toward evening we pulled to the shore, to

examine the coral piles, which, from their resemblance to ruined walls and pinnacles, first procured for the projecting land on the right of the entrance to this harbor the name of "Abbey Point." We had crossed the belt of coral left bare by the retiring tide, the sandy beach, and a further barrier of broken coral overgrown with *Cycas*, &c., and were resting under the shade of one of the rocky masses, when we found ourselves quite surrounded by a motley crowd, half naked, but very inoffensive. We had supposed, from the accounts of prior visitors, that we should scarcely get sight of a Loochoo female, and were quite prepared to welcome a poor woman, who left her hut to come and join the crowd of spectators. Mrs. King, who had hitherto been the centre of our group, went to meet her, and gave her her hand very cordially. The poor woman yielded to the impulse of kindness, and returned the greeting; admiring the glove, and contrasting the white hand given her, with her own, which was tattooed on the back in broad black lines, after the fashion of the country. Returning to our boat, we pulled into the cove or little inlet of Napa, which affords to the little craft of the place

a well-sheltered inner harbor. The shipping then lying there consisted of 8 Japanese junks, three large and four small Loochoo junks, and perhaps 100 sampans. One junk for China had just left the harbor, getting under weigh as we entered. The Japanese vessels were the first we had seen. They were, perhaps, of 200 tons burden, broad amidships and at the stern, but sharp forward, with a long projecting cutwater. The sides of the vessels were cased with a coarse lattice-work, the precise use of which we did not discover. The broad Chinese rudder is more than imitated in the construction of these vessels; and to increase its clumsiness, the whole is moved by an immense helm, extending forward almost to the mast, and dipping toward the deck with a considerable angle. The enormous mast—they have but one—is stepped abaft the centre of the junk, and kept in its place by one huge forestay, which descends from its top down to the cutwater. On this mast the great square sail is hoisted, and this seems to answer its purpose pretty well when running before the wind and in mild weather. The breadths of canvas of which these sails are made, are not sewn to each

other, but united by a close lacing ; and a great number of ropes fastened to the leech of the sail, answer as tacks, sheets, &c. We observed that copper was used very freely in the construction of these vessels, though coarse in other respects, much of it lying in sight on their cutwaters and timber-heads, and in other places. The Loochoo junks were rather Chinese than Japanese in model and appearance. After what we had read of the bustle and gaiety imparted to the harbor of Napa by its junks and boats, we were somewhat disappointed at the result of our inspection of its miserable craft, hardly meriting the name of shipping.

On the following morning, the 13th, we again landed to enjoy a walk on the hills back of the suburb of Pootsung, the oft-mentioned village on the North East of the harbor. The day was perfectly calm, and we pulled to the shore soon after dawn, across a sheet of water unruffled by the slightest breeze, its transparency as yet undiminished by any sunlight reflected from the surface. We tried to detach some of the best specimens of the coral, which was seen growing in

a great variety of forms beneath us, but found it impossible to move them.

When we had landed, and reached the first range of hills in our walk, a crowd had already surrounded us, and so much opposition was made to our further progress, that we desisted and returned to our boat again. A good view of the pretty scenery around Napakiang repaid us for our early walk, beside the delightful air and exercise of the morning. In the course of the day, Anyah and his party made us a second visit, bringing a few inconsiderable refreshments. He himself came on board in a very dull humor; but we surprised him out of his indifference by producing the plates of Loochoo in Captain Beechey's Journal. His great wonder was, that we Americans should be perfectly informed of what had passed between them and the English on these almost forgotten visits. He inquired if we knew Captain Beechey, but we told him that we merely had his narrative.

The next question was, if ours was the same ship which had appeared off the port some days before, and had then gone away to the Northward. This inquiry was made in a way which

led us to credit the fact involved in it, and we inferred that the vessel seen must have been the Raleigh, and of course that she had preceded us. This information we connected with the further account given by Anyah, that a severe tyfung had visited the island five days before, and concluded that it was the same mischievous gale that had made us uncomfortable all the way from Botel Tobago—driven away the Raleigh, and put a negative on our earnest petition for some Loochoo oranges, plantains, &c. which, we were assured, had all been destroyed by it. Before this visit was over, the questions were formally put to us—Are those men Japanese? Do you intend to carry them home? We replied that they were shipwrecked men, which we were restoring to their native country.

Afterward we learned that the Loochooans had used all their eloquence to induce the men to leave us, and return in one of their own junks to Kagosima.

In the afternoon we completed our circuit of the harbor by pulling along the shore to the North of Pootsung, where, however, the stroll is the least interesting. The same simple, curious

crowd attended us whenever we landed, and when we betook ourselves to our boat again, it was amusing to look back on the wondering mass, formed of a base line of bare shins, a middle stratum of half-clad bodies, and a crust of uncovered heads; all rivetted to the spot until we were quite beyond seeing distance.

At day-light on the morning of the 14th, we again entered the little cove of Napa, and landed on the pier, intending to push forward into the town, which is chiefly built on the northern bank of this inlet. We were stopped, however, in our advance, by a number of interpreters, policemen, &c., who put themselves in our path, and actually blocked up the way before us. We retraced our steps to our boat, and the triumph of our friends was soon changed into a ludicrous dismay as they saw our bow turned up the stream, and ourselves on the point of gaining by water what we had just been denied by a land access. A number of them hurried after us in their skiffs, while the rest followed along the quay, which has been built pretty regularly on this side, along the inlet. Finding no communication between the cove and the creek of Pootsung, which, how-

ever, nearly insulate the town, we followed the former to its head, a mile or two farther. It is shallow and muddy, but the hills surrounding it, partly cultivated, partly pine-clad, make up an agreeable picture. Returning again, we met our discomfited Mandarins, who laughed heartily at their ill success in the boat-race. Leaving the cove, we paid a visit to the temple appropriated years ago to the reception of Captains Maxwell and Beechey. It is a poor building, undeserving notice. Tea and cakes were again produced with the same object for which such things are given to children—to keep them quiet. The aged priest of the establishment seemed more disinterested in his efforts to induce us to join him in his idol-worship.

Among the offerings of the morning still on the altar, were about 100 cash—"les petites pièces japonaises en cuivre," mentioned in the "Account of the Three Kingdoms," translated by M. Klaproth, as constituting for a long period the only currency of the Loochoo Islands. We were permitted to bring away some of these cash with us. They bear the inscription "Kwang-yung-tung-paou," the same given them by Klaproth.

Perhaps it was the sight and example of a foreign lady, which attracted to us in these walks some hundreds of Loochoo females of the middle and lower classes. Among the younger of these we saw occasionally agreeable features; but it was quite evident, from the uniform ugliness of the matrons, that a sad change would soon pass upon these Loochooan beauties. Both young and old got a full share of the blows which were freely and sometimes smartly applied by the policemen to the shoulders and shins of the crowd when it pressed upon us.

Later in the morning Dr. Parker paid a second visit to the shore, to recover a pamphlet in Chinese on vaccination, which he had lent the day previous. He found it in the hands of a venerable Esculapian in huge spectacles, who had copied the whole book, and seemed much interested in the subject. Under show of teaching the old gentleman the art of introducing the virus, he fairly inoculated him. This stratagem was resorted to from the difficulty experienced the day before in getting our visitors on ship-board to submit to the operation. The success of the artifice was quite to the satisfaction of the

operator ; and the lookers-on too seemed not a little amused at the old patient's ludicrous confusion when he discovered what had been done to him by his brother practitioner.

The pamphlet just referred to, was prepared by Dr. Alexander Pearson, Surgeon to the E. I. Company's factory at Canton, and translated by Sir George Staunton, in 1803, when vaccination was first introduced into China. The practice seems not yet to have found its way to Loochoo, though it has very probably been attempted in Japan by the physicians of the Dutch establishment. It is to be hoped that the old Loochooan will make the instructions and the virus left with him useful to his countrymen. Many of our visitors bore marks of the small-pox, and we were told that it prevailed extensively. Otherwise the Loochooans seemed to us a healthy people ; a few cutaneous diseases, and some incurable affections of the eye, being the only ones which came under our observation.

At noon we had our last interview with Anyah and his party, who came on board, bringing with them some goats, pigs, sweet potatoes, salt, &c., — worth perhaps \$20. Their bullocks were too

poor, they said, and the typhoon had destroyed the fruit ; but our own conclusion was, that our purveyors had no great surplus of the good things of this world, and were determined to get rid of their foreign guests as cheaply as possible. We offered payment in dollars for these poor supplies, but Anyah answered, "in our country we use no silver money." We then directed some pieces of chintzes, some sweet wine, &c., to be put into their boat ; but these were refused also.

This refusal did not arise from indifference to the articles offered, for some pattern cards of these and other goods had been distributed previously, and the eagerness with which they were received and slipped up the loose sleeves, and into the open bosoms of the Japanese robes, evinced that even these remnants were much admired and valued. Some American 5 cent pieces, bright from the Mint, were also distributed, and seemed to give even greater pleasure. In return for these I was permitted to cut some specimens of their striped and checked grass cloth from an under part of the skirts of their dresses. This fabric, woven in black, dark blue, and light brown stripes, on white or blue grounds, was the usual dress ;

but I noticed on shore some coarse printed cottons ; and inferred that the Loochooans, as well as the Chinese, now practise a rude kind of block printing. It is singular that a people, who have for centuries used blocks in applying ink to paper, should have made no greater progress in the art of printing on cloth in colors.

When our conferences grew dull and tedious, on this as well as the former interviews, our guests were amused with a glass of sweet wine and some cakes, either in the cabin or on deck. In these cases a single glass of light French wine was given and tasted in compliment, or to gratify curiosity, as less objectionable on the whole than the pipe or the cigar, and as answering the same purpose, of a form of hospitality. Nothing surely can be more deserving of denunciation than the practice of tempting simple or rude tribes of men to the civilized vice of intoxication. And it is to be regretted that the charming account, which first interested us all in the Loochooans, should abound in spell-dissolving allusions to the power of the bottle. At the same time I cannot but think, with Gownin's Japanese friend, that tobacco is one of the worst gifts of the west to the

east ; and that in our day no good man should lend his countenance to the use of the "vile weed," at least within the old limits of the East India Company's charter.

Our friends were on the point of leaving us, with the Spanish farewell—"haste mañama," until to-morrow, when the Raleigh appeared over the point to the southward. She was greeted with a loud and general cheer, which quite disconcerted our Loochoqans, except Anyah, who immediately asked, "Is she going to Japan with you."

The interpreters now proceeded to make the usual inquiries on board the Raleigh, and these being over, we were visited by Mr. Gutzlaff, who proceeded to carry into effect his instructions—to ascertain the opinions and wishes of the Japanese as to the mode of their conveyance to their own country. They were called into the cabin, and asked if they were now ready and desirous to return to their native land. They replied, with great earnestness, that they longed to see it again. They were again asked if they preferred to return in the Morrison, or to seek some other conveyance. They replied, in the

same ardent manner, that they would rather go with us than in any other mode whatever. They expressed great confidence in the kind reception which awaited them on reaching Japan, and feared only to trust themselves again to one of their own dangerous junks.

To prevent the possibility of harm to these poor exiles, by their implication in any suspicion on the score of religion, some Chinese tracts, which had got on board the Morrison without my knowledge, were now transferred to the Raleigh. Nothing remained but to wait for Mr. Gutzlaff, whose presence was still necessary on board the sloop of war until some conferences were held, and her supplies were furnished.

A breeze from the northward springing up on the morning of the 15th, it became necessary to remove the Morrison farther from the reef off Cemetery Point, which has a greater extension, with less water, than our chart assigned it. The ship was on this account carried to the outer part of the harbor, where the tide taking her, she drifted some miles to the southward; and the day was passed in attempts to regain a position near the Raleigh. Before this could be accomplished,

Capt. Quin had directed Mr. Gutzlaff to join us, thus repaying very kindly our apparently unceremonious departure.

We had now to take a last look at the port and environs of Napakiang. Description enough has, however, been already lavished on this scene. The view from south to north takes in the coral ruins of Abbey Point ; the clumsy hulls and masts of the junks in the cove ; the low, tiled roofs of the town ; the white tombs of Cemetery Point ; the remarkable bluffs called the Capstern Rocks ; the partly wooded, partly cultivated high grounds rising toward Shooli, (Show-le) ; and the long, low points which bound the harbor on the north. The extent of the range, and the variety of the objects, make the whole a highly agreeable scene. It has, however, nothing *oriental* about it, a few low palms and banyan trees excepted ; and in describing it, a wish to conjure up a "mirage" before the mind of the western reader, is the only inducement to employ the word.

As a harbor, Napakiang is a pretty good one while the winds are easterly, though its extent is small. From the swell, which we found there

on entering, it is evident that the outlying reefs must be a very imperfect protection from westerly gales.

As a resort for ship's supplies and refreshments, this port cannot be ranked high. The Loochooans are evidently poor, and political reasons existing sufficiently strong to make them refuse compensation, water, which costs nothing, is the only thing of which a ship is likely to get a full supply. Capt. Beechey complained of the Loochoo water, but we found nothing unpleasant or injurious in that furnished us. Should vessels visit this port frequently, and for a considerable length of time, in quest of refreshments, the Loochooans will hardly maintain their present system; they will either permit provisions to be sold them, or, which is more probable, decline to furnish any supplies.

The eagerness with which little pieces of British fabrics were sought, leads me to suppose that these would be purchased readily by the Loochooans, to the full extent of their means, were the import free. Their ability, however, must be small, a little sugar being almost all they have to exchange at the present day. The

greater part of this is taken by the junks trading to Japan.

Napaching itself is a collection of poor, low houses, built on the level from the cove northward ; the whole not equal in appearance to a fourth-rate Chinese town. In the fields, the huts are of bamboo, thatched with straw. The temples, boats, &c., have the same look of poverty ; and this livery, the great majority of the people also wear.

Had it not been for the crowds which followed us, we should have inferred, from the few boats which boarded the Morrison, that the curiosity of the Loochooans respecting foreigners was sated ; but the truth evidently was, that the common people were not permitted to leave the shore.

When this interdict was laid, we did not ascertain ; but the effect was, to limit the number of boats which visited us to two or three per day ; to sober the gaiety which prevailed ; and to silence entirely the boat-song, which was heard so often when our predecessors were here. Not even the canoes that passed us daily on their way to and from their fishing stations on the reef, could be persuaded to come along-side.

Every thing which we saw during our short stay, confirmed the accounts which Klaproth, Golovnin, and others have drawn from the Japanese, that the connection between Loochoo and China is merely nominal or ceremonial, and that the island is really and truly a dependency of Japan.* Our Japanese told us that they did not

* Capt. Krusenstern treats the claims of the Japanese over Corea and Loochoo as "an idle boast," and remarks, that not a vessel from either of these pretended dependencies entered Nagasaki for the six months that he was at that port. As to the former claim, we only know that the Japanese armies returned from the conquest of Corea soon after the death of Tai-co in 1598, retaining in their hands only a few fortresses on the eastern coast. The Manchoos rose to power soon after this period, and there is evidence that the western, and probably the greater part of Corea, is now swayed by the example and dicta of the Chinese. But there is equal evidence that the eastern coast of Corea remains, to the present day, under the awe of the Japanese. Its petty trade is understood to be in the hands of the prince of Tsus-sima, and it is not at all strange either that the Corean vessels should be confined to that island, or that, being so restricted, none of them should be seen by M. Krusenstern at another port.

As respects Loochoo, the joint testimonies of Japanese and Loochooans are, that all the islands south of Formosa are Japanese possessions, depending immediately on the prince of Satsumá. Of the trade between them, I may anticipate so far as to add, that we had evidence of its existence in the number of junks we saw at Napakiang, and in the arrival of two Japanese and one Loochoo junk at Kagósima, while we were there.

understand the common people ; but some of the petty officers who came on board, spoke to them in their own language, and assured them that the prince and officers of the island were Japanese by birth or descent, and servants of the Prince of Satsumá. The "History of the Three Kingdoms" says that this subjection began by conquest in 1609 ; since which the whole policy of the government of Loochoo has been dictated by the rulers, and modelled after the fashion of Japan. This complete subjection accounts for the condition of the Loochooans, as a disarmed people, dreading to offend their masters by admitting the visits of foreigners, and at the same time too feeble to drive them away. It is not improbable that this island has already suffered

This harbor is said, moreover, to be quite a "Lintin" for the Chinese ; and as we were beating to the southward, just off its entrance, a junk of theirs passed us under full sail, steering, apparently, for the anchorage we had left.

Mr. Gutzlaff, in his account of the voyage of the *Amherst*, ranks the Loochooans among the tributaries of China, and supposes that they would follow the Chinese example, were that empire to open its ports to foreign intercourse.

I can, however, assure the reader that this gentleman is now convinced that the Loochoo group is a dependency of Satsumá, and that it must follow the Japanese, not the Chinese, decision, on the point so interesting to us.

severely from this blighting connexion, to which a little spirit on the part of its people, or a very little aid from abroad, would happily put an end.

The last spot on which the eye rests with pleasure, after leaving the harbor of Napa, is the ascent towards Showle ; the tract which Capt. Hall has peopled with the citizens of a metropolis, and crowned with the palace of a king. From all we could learn, the petty Loochooan dependent of the feudal Prince of Satsumá lives somewhere thereabouts ; but whether those beautiful rising grounds, thickly interspersed with trees and dwelling-houses, should be called country or town, and whether the common-looking building on the summit of the hill be a palace, or an old temple, or a fort, was not at all important, and not at all clear.

Finding that little progress to the northward could be made, we bore away for the south point of the island, and at six in the evening Napakiang had disappeared from view. Mr. Gutzlaff informed us that many questions had been asked of our character and intentions after our departure ; a degree of interest which we ascribed,

not to the circumstance of our being the first American vessel which had visited them, but to the fact that we had Japanese on board.*

* H. B. M. sloop Raleigh was to leave, the day after us, for the Bonin Islands a group lying about 800 miles east from the north-east point of Loochoo, and on which, it may be new to some of my readers, that there is a small colony under British protection. These islands are described by Captain Beechey, who visited them in 1827. It is still uncertain whether they are the group discovered by the Japanese in 1675, and on which they afterwards formed a convict settlement. If so, the settlement was afterward abandoned, for they were literally the Bonin (*Woo-jin no man*, i. e. uninhabited) islands when re-discovered by Capt. Coffin in 1823.

It is understood that the Raleigh found this little colony in a wretched condition, and that unless something be done ere long, to increase the numbers, and still more to improve the character of the settlers, these islands will soon recover every right to their original name. Measures may, however, be taken by Great Britain to sustain this colony on account of its vicinity to Japan.

CHAP. II.

VOYAGE TO, AND TRANSACTIONS IN, THE BAY
OF YEDDO.

ROUNDING the south point of Loochoo in the night of the 15th July, we directed our course toward the bay of Yeddo ; on the north-western side of which stands the modern capital of the Japanese empire ; a city founded in 1458, and completed in 1616 ; covering an area of sixty miles, and containing, perhaps, a million of inhabitants. This destination had been determined on, not only because it was the seat of the supreme government, where the highest assurance could be obtained for the future safety of the returned Japanese, and a decision given as to American intercourse without reference ; but as a *new* point, where the question would more probably be settled on principle, and not after old custom and local prejudice. I supposed that in Japan all the lines of jealousy and exclusion would be found to converge toward Nagasaki, just as in

China they point toward Canton. If an intercourse could be opened with that empire, it was important that its regulations should be drawn from the old and liberal precedents afforded by the first reception of foreigners there, and not from the narrow restrictions now in force. If our approach to the capital should be treated as criminal, it could be replied, that not having been included in the law which confined foreign trade to Nagasaki, we had not offended by entering any other port. Besides, we could suggest to the Japanese that there is much wisdom in the old proverb, "Divide et impera;" and that their fears took a wrong direction when they suggested regulations which must aid foreigners to conspire together, if so disposed, by placing them in close and constant contact.

We prosecuted our voyage, for some days, in sight of the eastern shores of Loochoo, a light breeze enabling us to make but slow progress to the north-east. We were boarded on the 16th by some little canoes, hollowed from logs, when fully ten miles from the shore; nor did the poor fishermen in these frail vessels, appear to feel any concern at the distance. From one of these boats, we

obtained some fish of an oval shape, of one to two pounds in weight and a deep blue color, spotted all over with white. Sailors call them "trigger" fish, because their large back fin cannot be pressed backward by a strong effort, but is levelled by the slightest touch on a smaller fin, planted a little below it.

On the 17th, a small, high island was in sight to the north-west, which may have escaped previous navigators, or the position of which, if it be "Wukido," is by our observations about twenty-four miles further east than that assigned it on the chart. We had hoped, on leaving Loo-choo, to take the south-east winds, which are said to blow through the summer in these latitudes from the Pacific toward the Asiatic continent; but one calm, hot, oppressive day followed another, until our confidence in this account was quite abandoned. Happily, so long as a ship's head can be kept toward her port, some advance may be calculated on; and in this almost imperceptible way, we moved on until the 25th. Some amusement was found in the occasional "blow" of a whale, and one whole morning was employed in the capture of a black fish, $9\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, and

in the very scientific post-mortem examination which then followed.

The azimuth compass was often tried in this part of our voyage, and the variation found to be from $5^{\circ} 30'$ to 7° west. These differences will not surprise any who are familiar with such observations on shipboard, and who, of course, know that the place of the compass, at the bow or the stern, the direction of the ship's head, &c., produce even greater varieties in the results.

On the 25th a new disappointment was felt, on discovering that the whole progress of the previous day had been lost again by our coming within the influence of a strong current setting to the south-west. We felt this current in the same strength,— $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile per hour—the following day, but happily lost it again on the 27th. In order to escape from it the sooner, our Japanese had recommended standing close in to the land, where, they said, the current ran steadily to the north-east. Following this direction, we struck the favorable current the succeeding day, and were carried by it 53 miles in 24 hours, toward our port.

We were now in cooler weather, very near

our destination, and no time was lost in preparing or revising papers in Chinese, explaining the direction from which we came, the object of our visit, &c. &c. Though these papers afterward failed to serve the purpose for which they were designed, I give translations of them below, in evidence of the spirit of the expedition, and of the harmless, if not beneficial nature of the intercourse which we sought.*

* The packet referred to above contained four papers in my name—one introducing the returned men—one respecting America—the third, presenting list of presents—and the fourth, list of cargo on board.

Translation of 1st paper.

The American merchant King respectfully addresses His Imperial Majesty on the subject of the return of seven of his shipwrecked subjects. He is come to this honorable country from Cap-shuy-moon in China, in a ship of three masts, &c., &c., called the "Morrison," commanded by Capt. Ingersoll, having on board a physician, a naturalist, &c., &c.

Three of the shipwrecked men, which he has brought with him, are natives of the village of Ono-oura, in the district of Stangoi, in the principality of Owari; their names, "Ewa," æt. 33, "Kioko" 21, "Oto" 19. They left Owari in November, 1830, in a rice junk for Yeddo, and meeting with a great tempest, lost their mast and their reckoning, and drifted fourteen months on the wide ocean without knowing whither they went. Their eleven companions sickened and died, and they three only remained alive, when their junk was thrown on shore in a country called Columbia, belonging to America, and in part inhabited by savage tribes. Some hunters in that

Expecting, now, to part with our Japanese in a few days, I took pleasure in recording in my

country kindly took care of them, and sent them in a ship to China, where they lived nineteen months at a place called Heang-shan-hëen. The good people there, remembering the words of Mencius, that "he who does not rescue the shipwrecked, is worse than a wolf," took care of them until an opportunity might offer for their return to their native country again.

The other four shipwrecked men are natives of different villages in the island of Kiusiu; their names, "Chiojo" æt. 28, "Yusaboroo" 25, "Cumatoroo" 28. They left a port in the island of Amákusa in December, 1834, bound to Nagasaki, but were driven off in a tyfung, lost their mast and rudder, and, after drifting thirty-five days, were cast on shore in a country called Takarobo. Thence the people of that country sent them to Heang-shan-hëen, where they met with their three countrymen, whose shipwreck has been detailed above.

Now, I, seeing the distressed condition of these men, have brought them back to their country, that they may be restored to their homes, and behold again their aged parents. Respectfully submitting this statement, I request that an officer may be sent on board to receive them—to hear the foreign news—to inspect the register of my vessel—to grant supplies and permission to trade. I also request, if there be any shipwrecked Americans in your country, that they may be given up to me, that I may take them home with me on my return.

Translation of the 2d paper.

America lies to the east of your honorable country, distant two months' voyage. Its western parts are not yet cleared, but are still inhabited by savage tribes. On its eastern side, where the people are civilised, and from which we come, it is separated from England and Holland by a wide ocean. Hence it appears that America stands alone, and does not border upon any other of the nations known to the Japanese. The popu-

journal a testimony to their correct conduct when on board, contrasting it with the behavior

lation of America is not great, though the country is extensive. Two hundred years ago it was entirely inhabited by savages; but at that time, English, Dutch, and other nations went there, and established colonies. Their descendants increased gradually, and sixty-two years ago they chose their first President named Washington. That high office is now filled by the eighth President. Within the space of sixty-two years America has been twice invaded, but its people have never attacked other countries, nor possessed themselves of foreign territory. The American vessels sail faster than those of other nations, traversing every sea, and informing themselves of whatever passes in every country. If permitted to have intercourse with Japan, they will communicate always the latest intelligence.

The laws of America are just and equitable, and punishment is inflicted only on the guilty. God is worshipped by every man according to his own conscience, and there is perfect toleration of all religions. We ourselves worship the God of peace, respect our superiors, and live in harmony with one another. Our countrymen have not yet visited your honorable country, but only know that in old times the merchants of all nations were admitted to your harbors. Afterwards, having transgressed the laws, they were restricted or expelled. Now, we coming for the first time, and not having done wrong, request permission to carry on a friendly intercourse on the ancient footing.

The list of presents, comprised a portrait of Washington, —a telescope,—a pair of globes,—an encyclopædia,—a collection of American treaties—an American history, &c., &c., to which the following remark was appended. Languages of nations differ, and perhaps ours, though much more extensively spoken than the Dutch or Portuguese, may not be understood

which annoyed Krusenstern so much in those whom he carried back. "Although I treated them," he says, "with particular kindness and attention, and bore their selfish humors with a patience I was myself surprised at, yet this good treatment never had the least effect on their boisterous character. It is scarcely possible to imagine worse people than they were—lazy, dirty, never willing to do any work, ill humored, and passionate in the highest degree, living in a constant state of warfare with the interpreter, because he was rather more noticed by the ambassador than the rest." Our exiles were the re-

in your honorable country. If so, and at your request, one of my party shall remain in Japan a year to teach our language.

The list of articles of merchandise on board was closed by a simple request to have free intercourse with the native merchants, so that future cargoes might be made to suit, in all respects, the Japanese taste.

Those who are familiar with the accounts given of Japanese ideas, prejudices, &c., will perceive why some points have been touched on in these papers, and others avoided or suppressed.

To the above communications, there was added a further one of Dr. Parker, respecting the medicines he had brought with him, "the wonderful efficacy of which, as well as the singular skill of their employer, could only be known by experience."

verse of all this, and I learned, only by accident, that one of them, who had once been a servant to a mandarin at Nagasaki, sometimes made himself disagreeable to the rest.

The shores of Japan came in sight on the morning of the 29th. The land before us was the coast adjacent to Cape Too-toomy, terminating on the east in a bluff, stretching westward on a lower level; then rising to a higher and rugged elevation, and sinking at last to a low point; off which lay the "Broken Island" of our chart. The wind blew fresh from the northeast; but the current, which here ran two miles per hour to windward, carried us rapidly toward Cape Izou, the extremity of the broad promontory which forms the shore of the outer bay of Yeddo on the west. A large fleet of junks was issuing from this noble bay, most of them steering westward, their white canvas sails, though of ugly cut, looking prettily, compared with the mats of the Chinese coasting craft. About sixty of these vessels, resembling exactly those we had seen at Loochoo, but of different sizes, passed out of this harbor in the course of the day. Some of them crossed our track quite

near us, their inmates showing no fear, but at the same time as little disposition to come on board.

Early in the afternoon we had approached within two or three miles of the massy promontory of "Izou," the cape of that name being its eastern, and Cape "Agache" its western point. It is a noble mass of mountains. In the centre, Mt. Fusi, one of the highest peaks in Japan, rises like an immense roof, with angular sides and a level top, to the elevation of twelve or fifteen thousand feet. Its summit was bare ; but the broad ravines, which cover no small portion of its southern sides, were white with snow, a fact which attests the Japanese account of its great height. From this centre the land declines to the westward, in numberless peaks and ridges, until it reaches the Cape Agache, a bluff headland, set off by several perfect cones of rock of different sizes. Eastward of Mount Fusi there are other high peaks ; but the extreme cape on this side is a long, low level, projecting to the south-east, and separated, by a wide passage, from a rocky islet not marked on our chart. Along the shores of this promontory we discovered some

cultivated spots, and some small collections of houses ; but the greater part of the area seemed incapable of tillage, nor did we feel at liberty to people these mountain fastnesses with pastoral groups, after reading that Japanese prejudice has long laid a ban on the patriarchal employments of the shepherd. Tacking near the rocky islet off Cape Izou, we stood again toward the islands which form a kind of chain from the bay of Yeddo, southward as far as Fatsisio. This spot has the honor to stand in the same relation to Japan that Sidney (Botany Bay) does to England, and is peopled, of course, in like manner, with those true patriots "who leave their country for their country's good." "Oosima," the most northerly of this chain, bears on the chart the name of an early Dutch navigator, "Vries." The smoke that covered its top, and the apparently once cultivated, but now abandoned tracts, lying along its lower declivities, confirm the account given us by our Japanese, that it is a volcanic island, inhabited formerly, but from which its people were driven away by frequent eruptions and earthquakes. From the point where we were, it was not possible to make the more

southern islands occupy the places assigned them on our chart, and we took the liberty to exchange the foreign appellations they bore upon it, for their native dress, and to give them new positions. Night overtook us, beating still in the outer bay ; the breeze was moderate however, and we did not seek an anchorage, but stood on waiting for day. The coldness of the evening reminded us of the vicinity of the snows of Mount Fusi, and of our having reached the 35th parallel of N. latitude, thirteen degrees north of Macao. The morning of Sunday, July 30th, found us off "Sousaki," a mass of rocks on our right, scantily covered with verdure, but not very high. The indentation from this point northward to "Oozioo" is still lower and more level ; but when the shore projects again opposite Cape Sagami, it is once more boldly abrupt, and full of variety.

Persons who have been born and bred in level or highly cultivated countries, who are tired of hedge-rows, drills, and furrows, and sated with all soft scenery, will doubtless find most pleasure in the wild, rugged, indomitable landscape. But the people of the new world are more likely to

place their beau-ideal, to enjoy the highest scenic delight, in the juxtaposition of the cultivated and the rude ; and to think hardly of "alma mater" when she will show no soft, swelling breasts, but rather, like a cruel step-mother, usurps to herself her children's heritage. My American reader, if such be his truer taste, shall turn from the eastern shore, which I have been tracing, to the tract on the opposite bank, stretching north from Cape Sâgami to Oura-gawa. It has a fair share of rocks and hills, and dark pines crowning the eminences, or extending in long lines over hill and valley ; but between these decorations there are extensive fields of brightest green, and many smokes are curling upward from the cottages of their careful cultivators. It must, however, be admitted, that the rains at this season give their best dress to the landscape before us ; and that a sad change must appear when these crops are all removed, and the sun and the frost have robbed every thing but the evergreen of its bloom and beauty.

A great number of open fishing-boats were in the bay as we passed up, their inmates taking but little notice of us, and minding as little the

heavy showers which descended on their bare heads most pitilessly. Once or twice we saw a hand pointed to Yeddo ; which gesture we interpreted to mean, "settle matters there, and we will be glad to come and see you." All these boats were furnished with sculls, both at the stern and the sides ; the oar seeming to be quite unknown, or quite discarded, in the Japanese waters.

At twelve o'clock we heard distinctly the report of guns fired to the north-east, but regarded them as signals merely that a foreign ship was in the offing. We had now passed Cape Sâgami, and entered the strait, of five to ten miles breadth, which extends north from this point some eighteen miles, and then expands into the inner bay of Yeddo—a sheet of water nearly sixty miles in circuit, but the greater part of which is said to be shallow. As we beat up this fine strait, the shores of which are bold and well peopled, the guns of the eastern shore were answered from the opposite heights of Oura-gawa. It was our plan to anchor in the harbor of this name, not wishing to compromise our Japanese by passing beyond the first point where the inward-bound junks are

examined, and where passes are granted them before they go farther. Thus licensed, the larger go on six or eight miles beyond, to a second anchorage, keeping close to the western bank; while the small craft proceed quite to Yeddo, about ten or twelve miles farther. When about two miles distant from our intended anchorage, we perceived that the firing on the western bank proceeded from a low white building or fort on the brow of the hill overlooking the inlet or cove of Oura-gawa, and that the shot from the guns were falling about half-way between us. Regarding these shot as intended merely to bring us to, we bore away, and dropped anchor in a little bay or curve of the shore on our left, about a mile from the bank, and in ten fathoms water. This concession was made to prevent our being mistaken for a vessel with hostile views attempting to force a passage to the capital. Our sails were already furled, when a single boat from the shore came alongside, and its people were persuaded to come on board, not without some solicitation. Our invitations were given through Mr. Gutzlaff, the Japanese remaining below out of sight of these visitors. They had been direct-

ed to do so, simply because they could not but answer all the questions asked them by the first petty mandarin who might board us, and we foresaw, that if curiosity as to our visit should be gratified in this way, our papers would be refused, and a report made to the capital on this oral information. The object was to act so, that *our papers* should be made to tell on the imperial decision.

A number of boats, perhaps twenty, followed the example of the first; and our decks were soon occupied by a crowd of one or two hundred Japanese, most of them so scantily covered, that it was necessary to exclude them from the cabin. All were, however, very kindly treated; and some ornamented pattern cards of British goods, remnants of chintzes, bright American five cent pieces, &c., were distributed among them, along with sweet wine and biscuit. With all they appeared much pleased, and some of the poorer class, especially, approved very highly of the flavor of the "saki."*

We thought it very probable that the officer

* The Japanese name for their rice wine, extended to all spirituous liquors.

of Oura-gawa might be out of the way, or that he waited for the report of these unofficial visitors before he trusted his precious self to our custody. Relying on the report our guests would give of our hospitality and our unarmed condition, we waited patiently for the appearance of an officer, or at least an interpreter. Papers were, however, given to the better-dressed of the crowd, stating that we were friendly Americans, and asking that an officer might be sent on board to confer with us. Our flag was also flying. The boats, in some of which we saw female faces, continued to surround us until night, but no mandarin came near, unless, as we imagined, one reconnoitred us from a boat of rather larger size than the rest, that pulled round the ship, but would not board us. We had inquired of our Japanese, how their officers were distinguished; whether they wore any badges besides the ever-famous "two sabres." The answer was, "If you see a man come on board that trembles very much, he is a mandarin."

It rained very hard through the afternoon, and this being sufficient to prevent our leaving the ship, we could not but regard it as a good enough

reason why an official visit should be deferred until morning. Besides, great folks in all countries are fond of making their inferiors wait for them. We did not doubt that the visit would be made, were it only to gratify a proverbial curiosity ; and had determined that the questions put should be answered by pointing to our papers, and requesting that they might be forwarded to the capital. Thus our object would be gained—our explanations be brought to bear upon the decision as to the reception of the men, and the privilege of future intercourse. Supposing that guard boats would soon collect around us and cut off our communication with the shore, as had been the fate of previous visitors, preparations were made to get at least one stroll, by pulling to the shore on the following morning at daylight. Heavy showers fell, however, just before dawn, and while we waited for half an hour to form an opinion on the unsettled weather, a fire suddenly opened on us from a battery of either two or four guns, which had been formed on the nearest point, under cover of the night, quite unnoticed by us. The ship's larboard quarter lay toward the battery, exposing her rud-

der to a fire, which we soon saw was served and directed in earnest. The shot from one or two of the guns fell considerably short ; but ball after ball from the heavier pieces passed directly over us. It was, of course, necessary to remove the ship from the exposure without losing a moment. The windlass was manned, the sails loosed, and we supposed, that if the object were simply to drive away an intruder, these demonstrations of a desire and intention to be off, would be sufficient. But no ; for the full half hour that the ship was being got under weigh, and a faint breath of air was slowly removing her out of range, the fire continued, and was even kept up until a number of balls in succession, falling in our wake, showed very clearly that we were out of danger. We owed it to a kind providence that one ball only, of the many fired, struck the ship, and this without doing any one injury. It passed through one of the ports between the fore and main chains, cut three of the deck planks, and rising, struck the gunwale of the long boat in such a direction as to rebound overboard. The same indebtedness forbids me to run into the common folly of magnifying danger past ;

it is, however, obvious, that the most harm possible was intended ; and that it was only the want of a telescope, or some other means of training the guns, that saved our ship and her inmates from serious injury. Throughout this exposure, every thing on board was conducted with great coolness and alacrity ; and if there was a little dodging when a ball whizzed over our heads, it was not at all surprising in young people who had never been under fire before, and was, I am sure, quite involuntary. I cannot conceal that some exasperation was felt amongst us at this treacherous attack ; and that, had any guns been on our deck, forbearance would have been practised with some effort, and have caused some dissatisfaction.

Once out of reach, the natural impulse was to demand explanations of this unprovoked outrage. But this was not easy ; for, beside the batteries, some small gun-boats were stationed off the landing-place at Oura-gawa, which took part in the firing, though their shot did not reach us. I did not think it proper to send a boat's crew toward them, for there could be no doubt of their hostile disposition ; and I could expect no less than that

our men must fight their way back, or be taken prisoners.

The light breeze, to which we owed our escape from the range of the battery, now freshening, it became necessary to decide whether or not to remain any longer in the bay of Yeddo. To be driven away so easily, was not pleasant nor absolutely necessary ; but, on the other hand, we could not expect that men who had just been firing on us, would place themselves in our power by boarding us. Besides, we were quite unprepared to force a communication—there was no anchorage on either side which could not in a few hours be commanded by batteries—we had no chance to examine the shallow bay on the north—the weather was uncertain, and a heavy swell began to set in from the southward. Under these circumstances we preferred to renew our attempts at communication at some other point, and not without reluctance steered out of the bay, which had been entered the day before with such pleasing anticipations. This determination was quite in union with the wishes and prayers of our Japanese, who were terrified at the firing, and declared that nothing would in-

duce them to land among mandarins, capable of so brutal an outrage. Poor men, their terror was hardly greater than their disappointment. The day before, they had been indulging the warmest hopes, unthinking, as the long absent often are, of the ravages which time never forgets to make, and not foreseeing what would be their reception by the creatures of a despotic government. The two married ones (Ewa and Chiojo) were looking forward to meeting with their wives, and all were anticipating a happy restoration to their aged parents. What could now be done to ensure the first object of our voyage—how could they yet be landed in safety? They had not been recognised, nor even seen at Oura-gawa,—none but the few friends who had once known them, dreamed of their existence; even these must long have regarded them as buried in the ocean. We proposed, therefore, either to put them on board one of their junks outside, or to land them at some uninhabited part of the coast, or to attempt communication again farther to the westward. To the first proposal they replied, as they had before done at Loochoo, that the crews on board all the junks are registered, so

that even when one dies on board, it is necessary to exhibit the body to the local officers on the vessel's return, to satisfy them that there has been no evasion of the law in this change in the original number. The law which forbids a Japanese to go abroad, and that which prohibits the arrival of strangers, are enforced with equal rigor. As to landing unobserved, they objected again, that their return to their native homes would of course be known, their story inquired into, and they themselves exposed to the displeasure of the mandarins, and perhaps to the severest punishment. The conclusion was, that they preferred that another attempt should be made to communicate at one of the unfortified harbors west of Yeddo, and they pointed out several where there were no castles. Following their directions, and assuring them that they should not be landed anywhere but with their own consent, we stood out to sea again by the way we had entered.

There was now leisure to think over and talk over the occurrences of the day, and to assign, if possible, reasons for our hostile reception. We did not, however, arrive at any certain solution

of the question—why we were fired on, or whether* this was authorised by the supreme government, or done on the general orders or the responsibility of the officer commanding at Oura-gawa. There could be no doubt but our ship was seen in the offing at day-light on the 30th, and report was, without much question, made immediately from post to post, northward, as far as the capital. The firing was first heard at noon, and at 3 P. M. we approached the anchorage with our colors flying. At 4 P. M. natives were on board, and our nation, our desire to communicate with an imperial officer, the absence of cannon from our decks, and the presence of females, may also have been known to the mandarin on shore an hour after. The distance from Oura-gawa to Yeddo may be twenty miles by water or twenty-five by land ; and it is more natural to suppose that all these particulars must have been carried to court, and orders returned, in time for the transportation of the guns, which opened on us at 5 A. M. the following morning. If so, we were fired on as *unarmed, friendly Americans*, and that under the imperial sanction. On the other hand, if no report was made, which

is not probable, or if it were made on our first appearance in the morning, we must conclude that the officer acted under general instructions, or at most, that his orders were not directed particularly against our American colors.

One palliatory supposition remains to be given, that depredations have been committed on the eastern coasts of Japan by the American whalers, and that these offences were visited on us, as Golovnin was made to expiate the violence of Chwostoff.

CHAP. III.

VOYAGE TO, AND TRANSACTIONS IN, THE BAY
OF KAGÓSIMA.

THE strong north-east wind, with which we left the harbor of Yeddo, enabled us to get forward five miles per hour, besides overcoming the two or three knots current, which had aided us so much in entering, but was now against us. Clearing Cape Izou the same evening, we prepared to make one of the harbors between it and the south point of Nippon, avoiding, however, the castellated towns of Yosido, Toba, Sigu, &c. We soon left behind the cloudy masses, which seem to envelope the southern coasts of Japan at this season, and emerged into clearer and warmer weather. There was no such escape, however, from the adverse current, which continued to retard us from one and a half to three and a quarter miles per hour, almost the whole distance to Kagósima. The causes, force, and direction of this remarkable current, will be ad-

verted to again in the nautical observations at the close of the fourth chapter.

The wind now heading off from the coast of Nippon, it was desirable to take a more western point for our second attempt, rather than to employ time in beating against it. Our Japanese were consulted on this matter, and they agreed that no better point could be chosen for communication than Kagósima, the chief port of Satsumá—the southern division of the island of Kiusiu—and the residence of one of the most powerful and least dependent of the feudal princes.* It is of this prince that I have already said there seems to be no reason to doubt that his authority extends over all the islands southward as far as Formosa. The possession of, and commerce with these groups, are supposed to give a maritime cast to the government and

* The journal of Capt. Krusenstern places this port and residence on the west side of the promontory forming the southwestern part of Kiusiu, in the bay between the Capes Kagul and Tchesme. This, however, is an error. Probably it was seen to be so, by the navigator himself, soon after the publication of his "Journal," since we find Kagósima laid down on his chart in its proper place, on the southern bay, and with all the marks of its being regarded as the capital of the principality.

people of this principality. Here, too, the Chinese junks are said to come, to smuggle the remainder of their cargoes after leaving Nagasaki. These facts, together with the one mentioned in the introduction—that arrangements were made to import a cargo of Dutch goods here, some years since—were sufficient to induce us to give the preference to Kagósima. A paper was therefore prepared, addressed to the Prince of Satsumá, to be presented on our arrival at that port, along with those previously prepared, and of which I subjoin a translation* for the reasons before given.

* Translation of paper to the Prince of Satsumá.

“The undersigned entered the harbor of Yeddo on the 30th July, guided by the charts which others have made, for the objects stated in the accompanying papers.

“On approaching the harbor of Oura-gawa, where ships are said to anchor, his vessel was fired on. Not wishing to force a passage, he then dropped anchor. Many of the common people then came on board, and papers were given them to carry to the officer on shore, requesting that he would come on board to treat on matters of importance. This reasonable request was disregarded; and before the undersigned could go on shore to pay his respects, the following morning, his ship was again fired on.

“Seeing that his kind intentions were thus requited by hostilities, he set sail, and came to the harbor of Kagósima. He now requests again, that his communications may be examin-

We continued to make good progress up to the 4th of August; but on that day the breeze failing, and the current still running strong, we sailed but sixty miles, and advanced only twenty. Matters grew still worse on the 6th, when we lost rather more than we had made the previous day, or than we could regain on the day following. These rapid currents, amounting in one of these days to seventy-six miles, were quite unexpected, and might have been dangerous to us

ed and forwarded to his Imperial Majesty, who, he would not believe, has sanctioned the firing on an unarmed, friendly vessel, without inquiry. Such conduct could only result in involving Japan in wars with foreign nations.

"The undersigned is aware that the Prince of Satsumá has great influence with the emperor, and that his intercession will ensure a safe landing to the shipwrecked men, now returned to their country.

"Should it please the Prince, moreover, that the American merchants resort to a port in his dominions, as the Dutch do to Nagasaki, no doubt this privilege, long granted to the Prince of Fisen, will not be withheld from his Excellency

"The American merchants are honorable and peaceful men, their ships swift, and capable of furnishing the richest and most various cargoes. By an intercourse with them, the glory of the Prince of Satsumá will doubtless be increased, and the happiness of his people promoted."

It could do no good to us to mention our repulse from Ouragawa, but for the sake of the Japanese on board, it was thought best to tell the whole truth in all cases, lest they should be endangered by after-disclosures.

had we not had opportunities of taking daily observations. The sailor running by the *log* in such waters, is likely to be carried as far from his course as the moralist who infers his position solely from the bearings of worldly objects, from a comparison with surrounding standards.

At noon of the 8th, the land adjacent to Cape D'Anville, on the eastern coast of Kiusiu, came in sight, and by evening was but three or four miles distant. The perfect smoothness of the sea had tempted a great number of fishing-boats out from the land, but before dark they were all safe in port again. None of them could be induced to board us. The sun now went down with great splendor behind the mountains of Fiouga, lighting up the heavy masses of clouds, which reposed above their lofty summits, and exhibiting the rugged declivity and smooth sea that intervened in strong and beautiful contrast. We admired very much this further specimen of Japanese scenery. How unlike the poor, level, barren shores of our own country. How superior to the high, rocky, but naked coast, which first meets the eye of the voyager to China. How preferable even to the unbroken green which en-

velopes the soil, the hills, rocks, shores, habitations of every tropical region.

The morning of the 9th found us off Cape Nagaeff, a bold, rocky promontory, uninteresting compared with the more northern land; the higher parts quite bare, but the glens and ravines deeply shaded by a short dark coppice. Beating down the coast from this barren point with the aid of a very light wind and a slight current, we opened at the dawn of the following day, the fine bay of Kagósima. Here the first Portuguese landed, 295 years ago; and here, too, the apostolic Xavier, and many of his less worthy followers. A later visitor, M. Krusenstern, has described the scene which now opened on our view as "particularly beautiful;" full of "picturesque situations;" where "the liberality of nature has been set off by the extraordinary cultivation, which has covered not the vallies only, but the mountains to their very summits, and the very rocks by the sea-side, with the most beautiful fields and plantations."

Rounding "Misaki," (Cape Tchits-chagoff,)*

* This awkward appellation, which none but a Russian dare attempt to pronounce, was applied, along with others, not

the eye looks up the whole length of this noble bay, nearly forty miles, and across to mount "Okaimon," (peak Horner,) the lofty and remarkable pine-clad cone which marks the entrance from the westward. Along the eastern shore the hills and mountain ridges come down nearly to the water, leaving but little room for fields or habitations. The circular island, which partly

quite so bad, by M. Krusenstern, when he passed these coasts on his celebrated voyage. No doubt the application was made in the same spirit and for the same reason which led him to remark, "I conceived it useful to distinguish the other islands in the straits of Van Diemen with names, as, notwithstanding all my endeavors at Nagasaki, I was unable to learn them properly in Japanese."

On this subject the Quarterly Review thus criticises:—"When Capt. Krusenstern confers the names, Tchitschagoff, Tchisicoff, &c., on capes and islands on the coast of Japan, which, in all probability, have been named in charts constructed 2000 years ago, it is just as if a Russian, in sailing along the coast of England, should think fit to change Flamborough Head into Cape Krusenstern, and to convert Dunnose into the nose of Tchichigoff, or any other celebrated Russian admiral."

The candid reader will immediately perceive that it is alike improper to give new and foreign names to places which have long borne native appellations, and to censure the application of such a name for the purpose of temporary distinction, when there are no means of ascertaining the native-designation.

In the accompanying chart, the Japanese names are given, so far as they could be learned during our short stay; and the foreign names applied by previous navigators placed in a smaller letter beneath them.

fills the inner basin, bounds the view to the north, its centre rising to a lofty peak, called Mount "Mitake," or "prospect" mountain. Opposite it, on the west, and separated by the channel which conducts to the city of Kagósima, another high mountain is seen, its cone quite as lofty and almost as perfect as that of "Okaimon." The entrance to this channel is somewhat impeded by a small island lying off a bluff point just beyond the little village of Miabana. This is the stopping-place of the inward-bound junks, the *Oura-gawa* of Kagósima. To Miabana, then, I proposed to proceed without delay ; but our Japanese had not forgotten the former reception, and were desirous to make more cautious approaches. At their request our boat was lowered, and two of them pulled toward some fishing-boats near the rocks, and there transshipping themselves, proceeded to the little village of "Yesaseke." Their explanations immediately removed the alarm felt at our approach ; and for themselves, they told so moving a tale, that the women and children wept, and the village officers deputed one of their number to come immediately on board, and confer with us. The officer was a

good-looking man of middle age, mild, and not much embarrassed. Stuck in his girdle, were two sabres, or a sabre and a hanger, the proud badges of Japanese rank and office. They were but slightly curved in the make, the blade covered with a dark scabbard, the hilt wound round with cord, and protected by a very narrow guard. We gave a slight offence by drawing the longer of these two sacred weapons, and soon learned that such curiosity was quite improper. Our visitor bore on his blue gown the arms of the Prince of Satsumá, a white ring, an inch and a half in its exterior diameter, enclosing a white square, the angles of which touching the inner edge of the ring, left within the circle four small segments only, of the blue ground-color. This badge confirmed the assurances of the wearer that the eastern as well as the western side of the bay of Kagósima is the territory of the Prince of Satsumá, though called on the chart "Oosou-mi." Satisfied on this point, I gave to this officer the packet which we had prepared, and which he promised should be forwarded immediately to his princely master. By his desire he was landed again in our own boat, and two of the Japan-

ese availed themselves of the opportunity to tread once more the soil of their long-lost native country. On this visit, their account of their sufferings, of their treatment during their exile, and of our desire to return them safely, was repeated; and the whole was taken down by a secretary, in order, as they were assured, to be forwarded immediately to the capital. We now proceeded to the opposite side of the bay, under the direction of a boatman, who had been officially assigned us as a pilot. Our reception thus far had been so friendly, that I wished to satisfy our guests, by forbearing to proceed further up the bay toward Kagósima. Tired, however, of standing off and on through the greater part of the day, we at length came to anchor in a good roadstead on the western shore open to the south and south-east, but where the lead gave a good bottom in seven fathoms.

The little village of Chugemútse, in front of which we lay, stands on a narrow under-cliff forty or fifty feet above the tide, and as far below the level of the rich and beautifully cultivated tract which stretches some miles to the north and west, interspersed with groves and orchards, and backed by the distant mountain. Soon af-

ter anchoring, a boat came from the village to announce that a high officer would be sent, on the following day, to treat with us, and that, meantime, we should be carried to a safer anchorage. When this announcement was made, our packet was returned unopened, and, unhappily, in a way which made it impossible for me to refuse to receive it, i. e., without my knowing it. We had already asked for supplies ; some water was sent on board in a boat fitted up with a large open vat in the centre, evidently for this kind of service. As for any thing more substantial, we had only promises, prefaced by great lamentations over the prevailing scarcity, caused by the failure of the last year's crops, which a storm of thirteen days' duration had nearly ruined. I was amused with one piece of evidence—an ocular demonstration—given, on this point. Looking down accidentally into the steerage, I saw a party of hungry fellows sitting round a basket of bread, and a large bowl of molasses, prepared by some of our young people ; and surely greater justice to this Yankee collation was never done by any like number of genuine New Englanders.

Our communication with the village on this side was evidently restricted ; no boats but those bearing officers, visiting us, and three of these taking up positions near the shore, plainly for the purpose of watching us. Like those at Oura-gawa, they were propelled by sculls only, their low, open sterns and long cutwaters apparently copied from the junks, and their whole construction rude, except in the lavish use of copper. The crews of these boats were stout-limbed, athletic men, a little less tall and powerful than those at Oura-gawa, and resembling, much more than I had expected, in form, manner, and even features, the low Chinese. It was necessary, and yet almost impossible, to exclude many of these coarse, rough, almost naked creatures from the deck, and even the round-house of the Morrison. The more respectable portion of the visitors were permitted to enter the round-house and cabin ; and here, an American lady was naturally the object which attracted the greater share of their sober, earnest, quiet curiosity. We were not annoyed at all, as others complain of having been, with endless idle questions ; though our little presents were taken with much satisfaction.

None of our visitors seemed to Mr. Gutzlaff to understand their own written language ; but he remarked, that they spoke the same dialect with their countrymen farther to the eastward.

During the following day we waited, with all patience, for the arrival of the great officer and the promised pilot ; but neither the one nor the other made his appearance. One coarse, rude man, with two sabres, remarked, in the afternoon, that we should not be taken to a better anchorage, and that if we wished to trade, we must go to Nagasaki. Mr. Gutzlaff was also told that there were serious disturbances, famines, insurrections, &c., in the country, and even at the capital ; and that Osaka, the third city of the empire, had been burned by order of the government, or by one of the contending parties. Mr. Gutzlaff gave entire credit to these reports, but I confess I thought them of doubtful authority, though not very improbable. It seemed clear, that here, as well as at Oura-gawa, our flag had never been seen before ; and we regretted the more that our papers had not been in the hands of the provincial officers, to give them a fairer idea of us, as Americans.

Still, we had been well received ; and nothing had occurred to prepare us for the salutation which awaited us on the following morning. (12th Aug.) A slight warning was given us early that day, by a fisherman, who pulled alongside, and told us that we had better go off, apparently from the impulse of kind feeling. Soon after this monition, which was not at all attended to at the moment, a crowd was seen busily employed on the heights above the village ; but their preparations were masked by striped cloths, such as are said by Golovnin to be stretched, on great occasions, in front of the Japanese fortresses. All this show, might, however, be preparations to receive the great man in question ; and we waited for some farther indications before beating a retreat from our position. A second encampment was now formed, and it appeared to us suspicious, that the crowds of lookers-on should keep themselves concealed among the trees, instead of advancing, as honest and curious men would naturally do, to the brow of the heights around and above the village. By way of preparing for the worst, the yards of our ship were hoisted without loosing the sails, and the

cable hove short. The breeze now failed fast, and it became evident that in a short time it would be impossible to move the ship, however desirable or even necessary to safety. Our Japanese were consulted, and their opinion being that these preparations were "no good," I directed that the ship should be carried out of range, and the anchor then dropped again. The moment the topsails were let fall from the yards, it became evident what all these things meant. A crowd of men, carrying flags, headed by several officers on horseback, scoured the beach, climbed the pathway leading to the encampment, the nearer of the two to us, and immediately a fire opened on us from behind the striped mask. Happily the guns of the battery were lighter than those of Oura-gawa, and all their shot fell in the water far short of us. We amused ourselves for a little while with this treacherous and impotent display, until it was remembered that heavier guns might be not far off, and that it was still within the power of those on shore to do us much harm, should they observe that it would be necessary for us to pass very near the northern shore of our anchorage in getting under weigh. In fact,

the wind had now become so light, that it was necessary to send our boats ahead, as well as to spread all sail, to clear us from the rocks on that side, and toward which the lee-way and current both tended. We had, therefore, much reason to rejoice that our *soldiers* had not consulted the *sailors*, but had planted their battery without minding wind or current. The shore, which we at length cleared, not without hard pulling, is terminated by a rocky islet, remarkable for the perfectly arched tunnel which the swell from the southward has bored through its base. It resembles exactly, in this respect as well as in form, the perforated islet off Misaki ('Tchitschagoff.)

As we stood across the entrance of the bay, and approached the little village where we had first communicated with the shore, our quondam friends returned the fire of the encampment, as if to warn us that we could not expect any thing from them in the way of assistance. Our Japanese received this "cut" as the unkindest of all, grieved and exasperated as they already were, at the sad destruction of all their hopes and anticipations. They saw that their long-indulged expectations of a return at last to home and friends

must be renounced ; and the disappointment was the more bitter, because it came upon them at the moment when they fancied their plan was successful. At Oura-gawa they had not shown themselves, and the fire of that battery was directed not at them, but at us. But here, they had seen their countrymen, had told them their tale, and felt themselves sure of the sympathy of the government, for they had awakened the sympathy of the people. Now they found themselves thrown back upon the protection of strangers, all chance of reception for ever cut off. Nor could we disguise or palliate the baseness which had marked even the manner of their rejection. The ship in which they came had been officially piloted to an anchorage, an intercourse with a competent officer and all needful supplies repeatedly promised ; and while these were waited for, while these promises were pending, without warning, under the mask of friendship and the cover of the night, preparations had been made to assault, if not to capture or cut her off.

That the mere expulsion of the vessel was not the only object, was evident, because we had urged our request for the prompt despatch of an

officer, by the very argument that we were anxious to return, and waited only for an answer respecting the men, to enable us to depart. Why, then, were we not dismissed by a word, or, at least, why was not the "*ultima ratio*" reserved until some evidence was had of the inefficiency of the *first*? I can hardly believe that the plan was to destroy the strange vessel, and leave none to tell the tale; but I can as little believe that no harm was meant, or that it was the wish of the officers that we should escape unhurt. As to the authority from which the attack emanated, there could be no doubt,—the arms of the Prince of Satsumá were on the cloths by which the guns were masked.

As we stretched across, again and again, towards the place of our late anchorage, gaining but little against both wind and current setting into the bay, the fire was as often renewed. Guns were even brought down, on to the extreme point at the foot of Mount "Okaimon," and there our gallant enemies kept up their "*feu de joie*." Some drenching showers in the afternoon cooled or damped their ardor for a little while; but by the flashes which we saw through

the darkness of the evening, it was evident that the battle was still raging, though the enemy was no longer visible, and the reports of these furious discharges now failed to reach our ears.

Leaving our triumphant assailants to rejoice over their easy victory, I directed the ship to be steered for Nagasaki as a last resort. My plan was, to call off the port, but not to anchor; to send in, by the boarding boat, the papers already prepared, with the addition of a further remonstrance; to wait twenty-four hours for a reply; and if assurances were not received, satisfactory to the Japanese themselves, to lay our ship's head once more toward Macao. Early the following morning the poor men were called together, and the proposals communicated to make a last effort to secure them a reception at the port legally open to Dutch vessels. They replied, that after what had occurred it would be better for them to die, than to place themselves in the power of their mandarins, and entreated that they might be carried back to China. One of them particularly, who had once been a servant to an officer at Nagasaki, magnified to the rest of his party the danger of visiting it. With-

out attaching any importance to his representations, the firm refusal of the men to land at Nagasaki, no matter what promises might be made them, was sufficient to oblige me to give up my plan. To ask a reception for them, of which they would not avail themselves even if granted, was to risk being caught in a gross inconsistency. To repair to Nagasaki for the purpose of merely handing in an indignant remonstrance, was to take into my own hands what had better be left to the stronger and wiser action of the American government. Besides, it was desirable that the ulterior measures to be taken in behalf of American intercourse with Japan, should not be prejudiced by the most distant recognition of the restrictions which now designate the port and oppress the trade of Nagasaki. The United States would never consign the meanest of her citizens to the prisons of a second *Désima*.

I was somewhat afraid that the Japanese were the more ready to return to Macao, from recalling the easy lives they had already lived there in the house and under the care of Mr. Gutzlaff. For their own good, therefore, I required that there should be a distinct explanation on this

point, and that they should prepare themselves for earning their own bread from the moment that they chose to abandon their country. "To be sure," they answered to my close questions; "should we not have to labor, if at home, for ourselves, and perhaps for our starving families, in these times of scarcity?"

When we were repulsed from Oura-gawa, the unfortunate men had said among themselves, "Could we but send letters to our surviving friends, to tell them we are still alive and in kind hands, we would be satisfied." Now, these fond wishes were suppressed, and the three who had been wrecked on the American coast appeared on deck, soon after, with their heads shaved; thus expressing more strongly than by words their final renunciation of their country.

Nothing now remained but to beat to the southward, through the islands lying on that side in plain sight of Kiusiu, and which had been confounded with the Loochoo group up to the time of the visit of M. Krusenstern. Tanegasima, the most western of these, is also the most valuable. It is covered with noble forests, the property of the Prince of Satsumá, who punishes with death

depredations on the timber. This low, level, useful island is quite in contrast, in all these respects, with its next neighbor, the lofty, rugged, and barren Jacono-sima. Further eastward are Taka-sima (Volcano I.), Ewo-sima (Apollo I.), and Koro-sima (St. Clair I.) For the Julie and Seriphos islands of Krusenstern we did not obtain the native appellations. Streams of smoke were issuing from the sides of Taka-sima as we sailed by it; and, collecting in a cloud above, hardly permitted for a whole day, a sight of its summit.

Our passage through these islands confirmed completely the correctness of the chart of M. Krusenstern; some rocks off Taka-sima and Korosima being all that we were able to add to it. This latter island we passed on the night of the fourteenth, and at five the following morning discovered a mass of rocky islets, not down on our chart, and to which, for present distinction's sake, we gave the name of "Morrison." These rocks are, no doubt, known to the Japanese, and probably to the Dutch also. Compelled by the direction of the winds to stand in this way to the westward, we abandoned the plan of tracing,

on our way back, the chain of islands at the southward; of revisiting the Madjicosima group; and of touching at the north-west point of Formosa. Bidding farewell, therefore, to the Japanese dependencies, we sought a stopping-place and some refreshments on the coast of China.

CHAP. IV.

RETURN TO CHINA. INFERENCES FROM THE
VOYAGE. ULTERIOR VIEWS. CONCLUSION.

A SPEEDY return to China was now the more a matter of desire, as our Japanese friends had furnished us, in answer to our calls for supplies, with but one and a half cask of water and one fish ; perhaps by way of securing due credit and sympathy for the scarcity prevailing in the land.

For some days, however, little progress could be made against the light head-winds, broken by calms, which retarded our way southward from Kagósima.

It certainly requires a great deal more faith and patience to pass one's precious days on a glassy ocean, under a burning sun, than it did to live contentedly on the flats of Cambridge in the days of Robert Hall. No wonder, then, if at sea, after the failure of all and sundry signs and tokens of a coming breeze, a sovereign supporter of hope, "a special providence" should be

called in to raise a wind. Let me not be understood to impugn the trust of the becalmed sailor ; I would rather prompt him to admire the providence which has subjected the strongest influences he is called to encounter to laws which he may usually ascertain, if he be intelligent, and will always conform to if he be humble and wise. Let him rely, then on special interposition whenever the "*dignus vindice nodus*" shall occur, but remember all the while, that benevolence is to be sought for in the rules of the Divine government, rather than in exceptions to them,—that it is no miracle for God to be kind.

As for ourselves, we were attempting to get down the coasts of China in the midst of that short period of three months when the north winds fail, which are said to prevail along these shores the other three fourths of the time.* It was no wonder, then, that we had a week of head winds and calms.

In lat. $30\frac{1}{2}$ North, and lon. 125 East, we found ourselves on that great bank which extends out from the coasts of China, formed, no

* On the table lands of Central Asia the north winds are said to blow steadily throughout the year.

doubt, by the deposit of the mud of the Chinese rivers, and by the meeting of currents, which exhaust themselves there. We continued on this bank from the 18th to the 22nd, the water deepening from 31 to 40 fathoms; and the sea, all the while, full of minute particles, apparently of vegetable origin, and covered in stripes or masses with an unctuous, fetid scum.

These evidences of a great ocean-eddy or pool were lost on the 22nd, and a more pleasing phenomenon—a fine North-east wind—succeeded, carrying us forward ten miles per hour for the first time since we left Macao. The prevalence of such a wind, sweeping around the north point of Formosa, and extending down the passage between that island and the Chinese coast, even in summer, has been often asserted; but without the evidence of experience, it would appear extremely improbable that such is ever the case in the midst of the south-west monsoon. It would seem much more natural that this monsoon, after sweeping the Chinese sea, should draw through the Formosa channel toward the north-east, with compressed force. It must, however, be admitted, that the south-west monsoon is feeble

compared with the fiercer currents of air in the opposite direction, which rush from the cold tablelands of Northern Asia when the sun is far in the southern hemisphere.

The fresh gale, which we were now enjoying, may perhaps be regarded as a vein from the great easterly current that follows the sun across the Pacific, turned southward by the intervention of Formosa, and flowing toward a rarefied region, which the Southern Fokien hills protect from the south-west monsoon. It gradually lost its strength as we skirted the low, naked islands that line the Chinese coast south of 26° N. Lat., and quite deserted us off Amoy, in about 25° .

Uninteresting as this coast is, there was a kind of pleasure felt by all again on the 23d, at the cry of "land." In fact, beautiful as the plateau is, whose centre the ship at sea always keeps, I observe that no one ever regrets when its perfect outline, or the broad base of the noble dome that covers it, is broken by any mean, little lump of ground. All share, with the companions of Æneas, in the "*magno telluris amore*." It was our plan to stop for some refreshments at Amoy, but when almost in sight of that port, a light

breeze drew off the land ; and, baffled by it, we pursued our way to Macao. The current was against us here, as before ; and on the 26th our progress was but seven miles. A better prospect opened the following day, and the southerly wind gradually freshening, we were enabled to make the Lemma Islands, which mark the eastern entrance to the Gulf of Canton, on the morning of the 29th, and to anchor again in safety, the same evening, in the roads of Macao ; having been absent fifty-six days, forty-eight of which were passed at sea. In the same weather which we experienced, though unfavorable to the best sailing vessels, a steamboat would have accomplished the distance run—a little over four thousand miles—in twenty days. It is not, perhaps, proper to generalise our scanty experience on the point of weather, but after coasting the Japanese Islands, from Yeddo to Kagósima, I am inclined to account for the old stories of the dangers of this navigation in the same way that we must dispose of the extravagant reports of the first missionaries to China ; not by pronouncing them false, but by jogging one's own memory as to the improvements that have intervened in

nautical science and practice, and every thing else, and by reference to the fact that men will always apply superlative terms to the most remarkable things they have ever seen, heard, or felt. Every reader of ancient voyages should bear in mind that the tempest that destroyed the "Invincible Armada" would probably not harm at all a modern ship ; and that the sailor of those times was much tempted to suppose that there was no sea so stormy as that which he had traversed, and no gales so violent as those from which he had escaped.

Before I attempt to draw any inferences from the voyage thus terminated, I must be permitted to express a regret that its shortness, the quick repulses we met with from the Japanese harbors, our return without having so much as landed ; have left me with so slender materials to interest the reader, with so little to attract attention to these notes but the newness of the subject, the "prestige" of a visit to Japan.

The same reasons will shield the gentlemen of our party, whose particular aim it was to bring away specimens in natural history, and to leave behind some proofs that Americans can

feel for and alleviate the sufferings of the people of the Rising Sun.

I owe, also, an expression of a sentiment very different from dissatisfaction, to the commander, officers, and crew of the *Morrison* ; whose fault it certainly was not, if any thing occurred to thwart the design of the voyage or to affect the comfort of those on board. Our seamen behaved throughout the voyage as became men who joined with pleasure in the daily worship of the cabin, and who recognised that duty to their commander was also duty to God. Need I add, that they were men who had chosen to place themselves under the regulations of a temperance ship : regulations that now govern the finest portion of our mercantile marine, and which, if maintained there, and extended in full force to the navy of the United States, will go far to secure the superiority of both our public and private vessels, in peace and in war. I will add, that on two occasions a slight difficulty arose between an officer and a seaman ; for the sake of remarking, that while the friends of seamen are exerting themselves for their improvement, a corresponding amelioration in naval discipline

should be secured. For the seaman, temperate himself, and properly commanded, I will answer that he will do his duty with his life. But he is easily driven to a hasty resistance by the imposition of needless annoying orders, which, once issued, cannot easily be given up. The friends of this noble class of men should therefore take in these two objects—the banishment of spirits, and the introduction of rational discipline; and thus destroy the two weapons which have so long been wielded for the moral destruction of sailors throughout the maritime world.

I come now to the results of the voyage, an account of which has just been given, and which, the reader will remember, was undertaken for two objects,—to return seven unfortunate men to their country, and to open, if possible, by a pacific process, an intercourse between the United States and Japan. As to extravagant hopes of making a brilliant speculation by this voyage, I can assure him that none such were entertained, and that all results to its projectors may be dismissed entirely from his mind.

If he will follow me, and the American people will follow me, through the inferences I would

make from this experiment, and the plans I would ground on its apparent failure, results may be obtained equivalent to ample success. I said failure; but what are failures in any worthy cause? "the lesser waves repulsed and broken on the strand, while the great tide is rolling on, and gaining ground with every breaker." It is over a succession of repulsed and fallen instruments, that grand plans, like the ocean tide, make their steady, irresistible advance.

First, then, I claim one axiom; that human intercourse is identified with human improvement;* and one postulate, that the hope of inter-

* There is a striking coincidence between the predictions of ancient inspiration and the realizations of modern science on this point.

Twenty-three centuries ago Daniel foretold that many should run to and fro, and knowledge should be increased. An able and popular writer of the present day says, "Neither the wisdom of the philosopher, nor the skill of the statistician, nor the foresight of the statesman, is sufficient to determine the important consequences, by which the realization of these schemes (of rapid intercommunication) must affect the progress of the human race. Whilst population exists in detached and independent masses incapable of transfusion amongst each other, their dormant affinities are never called into action, and the most precious qualities of each are never imparted to the other. Like solids in physics, they are slow to form combinations; but when the quality of fluidity has been imparted to them, when their constituent atoms are loosened by

course with Japan itself shall not be given up. My inferences then are, that a private effort to open this intercourse, made under the most favorable circumstances, having resulted in such

fusion, and the particles of each flow freely through and amongst those of the other, then the affinities are awakened, new combinations are formed, a mutual interchange of qualities takes place; and combinations of value far exceeding that of the original elements, are produced. Extreme facility of intercourse is the fluidity and fusion of the social masses, from whence such an activity of the affinities results, and from whence such an inestimable interchange of precious qualities must follow. We have accordingly observed that the advancement in civilisation, and the promotion of intercourse between distinct masses of people, have ever gone on with contemporaneous progress; each appearing occasionally to be the cause or the consequence of the other."

I do not suppose that the favorite engine of Dr. Lardner would find its best field among the picturesque acclivities and imperfect levels of the Japanese interior; but on their coasts, particularly in the Korean sea, the channel of Tartary, and the passages which separate the three principal islands, the steamboat would be of incalculable value. So far as our experience extends, the summer navigation between China and Japan is of the same mild and favorable character.

The introduction of this admirable agent into both these countries might perhaps be hastened, by pointing out the accession of strength which governments derive from the ability to transport bodies of men, &c., with great celerity, from one point to another, and thus enlisting a short-sighted despotism in its favor.

But it is to the principle asserted, and beautifully illustrated in the above extracts, and not to any speculations on a partial application of it, that I call the attention of the reader.

a manner as to forbid a renewal ; the Government of the United States must take up the subject ; or if this cannot be, that the forlorn hope of the army of amelioration must prepare for the assault.

I need only refer to the preface to this account to prove that nothing was wanting on our part to ensure a kind and favorable reception in Japan ; and that no succeeding expedition of the same private and mercantile character can be expected to combine more advantages than this. Had there existed at Yeddo the relaxed and friendly feeling towards foreigners which M. Titsingh tells us was influential there in 1769, and again for some years previous to 1784 ; had there been no more than a jealous timidity, a fear without malice, there ; the absence of cannon from the decks of the *Morrison* would have quieted all suspicion—and our welcome would have been sure.

But the opposite of all these dispositions was evidently in force, and the moment cowardice was assured of the harmlessness of the foreign vessel, no respect was paid, either to her national colors or to her flag of truce. To the absence

of cannon we probably owed this full disclosure of the real dispositions of the Japanese officers. Had the Morrison been well armed, dissimulation would have been resorted to instead of force ; we should have been dismissed with a courteous refusal of all intercourse ; and the malice, which sought to spend itself on us, would have wreaked itself, at leisure, on the returned Japanese.

I am not sure but a mere blunder, such as prevented any harm from the fire at Kagósima, saved us from a treacherous invitation to the shore, and from a confinement as long and as painful as the unfortunate Golovnin endured. Still I do not insist on the reception given to the Morrison as proving any thing more than this—that the policy of Japan remains unrelaxed, and that on it mere private proposals, however often repeated, can be expected to have no effect.

Abandoning, then, all reliance on repeated private movements, how stands the case between the *governments* of Japan and the U. States ? It stands thus :—

The former power confines its subjects to vessels of so bad a model, that every gale must be expected to drive many of them out to sea, where

their crews must perish by shipwreck or famine, or meet, on some savage shore, a barbarous death, unless rescued by the interposition of European or American aid. Even if this be their apparently happier lot, what must become of these unfortunate men ? Their unnatural government spares not whom the tempest has spared. They dare not return, even by stealth, to their homes. The charity which has rescued them, must continue to support them, or throw them again upon the world, to suffer, perhaps, keener and more protracted miseries. What course would the government of the U. States have its citizens, in this remote part of the world to pursue in such a case ? Shall they refuse to afford all assistance, or are they authorised to commend the miserable Japanese whom they may rescue, to a place on the pension list ?

It is not, however, with the harsh operation of the Japanese policy on its shipwrecked subjects, or with the more extensive injury it inflicts on its whole people, by depriving them of the benefits of foreign intercourse, that we are now concerned ; our object being to ascertain its bearing on the people and government of the

United States. And, in this point of view, I think it not difficult to show its pointed injustice, affording the strongest grounds for national remonstrance which can be conceived to exist. The truth is this—More than two centuries ago the usurpers of the Japanese throne found, or pretended to find, something alarming or injurious to their dominions in the conduct or purposes of the Spaniards and Portuguese. At that time the earliest of the “Pilgrim Fathers” were struggling to acquire a footing on the edge of the American wilderness. What had they to do with the malpractices of men of other nations in the opposite hemisphere? Why is the sentence of exclusion passed upon the Spaniards and Portuguese of 1637, entailed upon us, the descendants of those western colonists, at the distance of two centuries.

It is not true that this entail is a measure even of *impartial injustice*. There may have been strong reasons why a mixed feudal and ecclesiastical government should resolve to root out Catholicism, and, in order to accomplish this, that it should interdict intercourse with all countries under papal domination.

The long abandonment of their right to trade by the English, and still more their close alliance with Portugal, may be supposed to have afforded some ground for their exclusion also from Japan. And had the Dutch been included in the sweeping excision, posterity would have said that it was but a light sentence on the most rapacious of eastern adventurers, and honorable, compared with the assignment of a perpetual annuity of certain people on a limited trade, paid in prison, like a largess to an executioner, in memory of services which shame would bury in oblivion. Even the late rejection of a Russian embassy may be accounted for by a reference to the statements of its historians; or on the ground that Japanese jealousy would rather check than invite the advances of so powerful a neighbor. But that the only flag fired on in the harbors of Japan should be that of the only nation which maintains no church establishment; forms no offensive leagues; holds no foreign colonies; grasps at no Asiatic territory; and whose citizens present themselves, for the first time, at the gates of the capital, unarmed, and with every pledge of peaceful, humane, and generous intentions;

that the American flag should be so dealt with without warning ; nay, after the promises of protection and under the mask of friendship ; is surely *partial*—a distinction that calls for acknowledgment in the name of the country.

It may be urged, in opposition to this view of the subject, that we are unable to trace the causes of the hostile act referred to—that the report of disturbances, of incipient revolution in the country, may be true—that provocations may have been offered by American whalers—or that the repulses may have been the work of inferior officers, unauthorised by the supreme government.

But if the first objection be true, it is highly important that an American officer be placed in readiness to exert an influence over a rising dynasty before its policy is hardened into rigidity, and while its weakness may incline it to draw support from foreign sources. In the second case, it is surely the duty of the proper department of the American executive to inquire into mal-practices, attended by results so serious as to degrade the national character, and to expose every unfortunate citizen who may be thrown on the Japanese coasts to the fate of Golovnin,

while it perpetuates the general exclusion. If such depredations have been committed, the aggrieved government will hardly refuse to answer such a call of inquiry when made with a direct view to ample reparation.

If the last objection prove the true one, the court of Yeddo can as ill refuse to pass its censure on, to disown, the late insult to the American flag ; or, which is more important, to instruct the commanders of its coast-guard to take the trouble to inquire, what our ships come for, before it treat them as enemies, firing on them without provocation and without inquiry.

I will not conceal my fears that the easy repulse of the *Morrison* will tempt the officers on the coasts of Japan to riddle every American ship which distress or any other cause may carry within the range of their guns ; for, be it remembered, that the officer has only to report that he had evidence of hostile designs, and his cruelty and falsehood are sure to be rewarded by imperial favor, if his cupidity have not already been by plunder. If these fears have any foundation, it is further desirable that their grounds should be removed immediately. The people of

Japan are now friendly ; they boarded us with confidence when permitted, and were pleased with their frank and kind reception. They wept when their shipwrecked countrymen told their tale, and cried out that the strangers who had come to restore them, were angels. But should the canaille of Japan get a taste of American plunder, the friendly might be out-numbered by wreckers and robbers.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the voyage of the *Morrison* having been resolved on suddenly, there is no probability that information of *it* could have preceded us by way of Nagasaki or direct to Yeddo. At the same time I have no doubt that advice had been given, through the Dutch factory, that there was a party of Japanese at Macao, waiting to be returned in *some* foreign vessel. To Satsuma also, a report of us was perhaps carried by junks from Loochoo ; but unless we were made to suffer by implication for the good deeds of the British visitors of Napa Kiang, or for our own, no harm can have resulted from this information.

I need not attempt, at this or any other point of this closing chapter, to settle the question as

to the sovereign right of every nation to legislate for itself on the subject of foreign intercourse. I have nothing to add to the common arguments on which most men have already taken sides, for or against conservatism. But as a friend of freedom and amelioration in *this* part of the world, I hope the time is near when my own country will be prepared to cast the first stone at Japan, unless she will sin no more against the dearest human interests. The peculiarity of the attitude of Japan—the broad distinction between the enforcement of a barbarous, murderous, foreign policy, and the regulation of foreign intercourse; justifies, to my mind, this hope, on the truest principles of conservatism.

I rely, however, in the present case, on considerations drawn from the occasion, and not from theoretic principles. As I regarded the possession of three Japanese, who had been wrecked on the American coast, as an opportunity afforded by Providence of getting into private communication with Japan; so I look upon the injury done to the American flag, in the treatment of the *Morrison*, as an occasion too valuable to be lost for bringing national influ-

ence to bear on the point where private effort has failed to make any impression. My view of national remonstrance is, that it is never dishonorable, even when unsuccessful. To submit for a time, may sometimes be the duty of a Christian nation ; to submit " to suffer as an evil-doer," by implication with other men's sins, never. To clear itself from all such debasing connexions, is an object worthy of every nation careful of its Christian honor. On the other hand, the gratification of private or public revenge, the resort to any other than open measures for redress, the punishment of the innocent with or for the guilty, is national degradation ; deeper even than cowardly submission. From all these objections, I trust that the following recommendations for the amelioration of our relations with Japan will be found free, and therefore becoming the character, and meriting the approval, of the American executive.

I propose, then, that a small naval force (say two sloops and a tender) shall be directed to pass the summer of 1839 on the coasts of Japan ; the commanding officer, or rather the accompanying envoy (for I am afraid of military men) being

furnished with the views of the government on the late treatment of the national flag, and with its ultimatum on the point of future intercourse. This ultimatum should embody security for the kind reception of the vessels and seamen of both nations in each other's ports; the admission of an American minister to the court of Yeddo; the necessary exequatur for such consuls as may be appointed to care for our seamen, and some other like provisions.

Unless altered circumstances invite, I would not embarrass the first demand for admission to political relations with Japan, by including any stipulations whatever as to commercial intercourse. This may be the subject of after-negotiation, when distrust has given way to confidence. The first approach should be kept above the suspicion of mercenary motive; the first call should be made in the name of humanity. It is true that the right of commercial interchange is well based, on the providential division of earthly productions to different climes, and on its own beneficent results; but mankind is so little agreed on the extent of the right, and so much less on the propriety of enforcing it, that it cannot be

placed in the same category with the claims of common humanity.

Against this little squadron, it is my belief that no force could be immediately brought or would be brought at all, even in the harbor of Yeddo; while a tender would find a station for it, secure from the weather.

Probably the ultimatum it carried would be rejected at first without much hesitation; but circumstances may exist, which would secure its immediate acceptance. Suppose it accepted; how cheap a conquest, how fine a triumph, would be achieved over the strongest hold of Asiatic exclusion. If rejected, it should be pressed again, along with a free exposition of the injustice of such a policy as respects America, and an exhibition of the defencelessness of Japan, its immense coast line, its exposed capitals, its feudal weaknesses, its entire dependence, in fact, on the very moderation and good-will in our own and other foreign nations; on the denial of which it expels us, as it has so long excluded them. These declarations could scarcely fail to make a salutary impression, though they might come short of securing an immediate choice of the safe,

easy, honorable, humane concessions proposed in the ultimatum. But if rejected, pertinaciously and finally, there remains beside an honorable retreat ; beyond the discharge of the duty of protest ; beside the consciousness of having attempted to subserve the cause of humanity, with which I would rest satisfied, a bolder alternative—a choice of two sets of coercive measures, if indeed it should be that circumstances justify and demand such extremities. The first of these is, and I give it first only because it has often been thought that it would work well, both in Japan and China, to turn back the junks approaching Yeddo with fish from the northern colonies and rice from the western provinces ; and thus to convince the Kubo of the truth of that defencelessness, of which words have failed to convince him. There is, however, an objection to this proceeding, to me insuperable ; the scarcity which would follow it, must fall on the unoffending multitude, and pride and fulness of bread would still characterise the circle around the court, unless invaded and broken up by a popular insurrection. Now, it cannot be the pleasure of the American people to inflict one pang on the

guiltless and friendly million of the Japanese capital ; I turn, therefore, to the less objectionable alternative alluded to, and which, if it do not throw open the ports of the empire at a touch, can hardly fail to produce sufficient impression to warrant, in the extreme case of absolute necessity under consideration, an adoption and trial. This alternative is—the emancipation of the insular dependencies of Japan from Satsumá southward to Formosa.

To accomplish this milder alternative, the harbor of Kagosima, the only point from which a communication is maintained with these islands, need only, in my opinion, be strictly guarded ; and the sole link which chains the archipelago to the master country will thus be severed. While this only avenue is commanded, a vessel should proceed to Loochoo, and successively to the smaller islands ; declaring them free, relieving them entirely and for ever from the presence of their Japanese masters, and aiding them in their first efforts to discharge the obligations of independence.

That it would be so easy to change the condition of this archipelago, is nearly certain ; because

the Japanese, after disarming these conquered islanders, proceeded next to disarm themselves ; by forbidding all foreign commerce, and all deviation from the worst model in the construction of their national vessels.

Nearly two centuries have elapsed since these antimarine laws took effect ; and the Japanese of the present day are consequently as ignorant of nautical affairs as the ancient Egyptians or modern Persians. Against such enemies, a naval force, commanding the forests of Tanegasima, the harbors of Napa and Melville, the surplus products of the islands, and within easy distance of China and Manila, would need no exertion to maintain itself ; and the little it might require from home could always be forwarded cheaply and certainly in merchant vessels.

Without weapons of any kind, these long subjugated islanders would not merely spare all resort to force ; their fears would, doubtless, give way to the joy of deliverance, and their docility and mildness would put them in early possession of all the benefits of their new instruction. They are not entirely unaware that there is a better school and better masters. When the Amherst

visited them in 1832, and one of the party commended to them the doctrines of free trade, the answer was—Can you protect us?

With such a “*τοῦστω*,” such a “point d’ appui,” as these islands, including the eastern shores of Formosa, afford, none could despair of moving the Japanese empire. Renouncing all armed interference, its coasts and harbors might be filled with the fame of the justice and goodness of the American people; their just ends; their generous purposes; and the “*vox populi*,” speaking out of the ruins of feudalism, be left to become the instrument of calling a handful of despotic chiefs, and their liege lord too, to better manners.

In the history of Western nations, we often see reasons to rejoice in their aggrandisement; or, at least, to console ourselves for the subjection of a petty state—for its loss of a nominal independence—by observing that it has gained in its communications—that its circle of beneficial intercourse is widened by its annexation to some mighty empire. Even in the present day we regret the breaking up of territorial connexions most; we deprecate all disunions, because the state of inter-national feeling is as yet so low;

we feel that the time has not arrived when the machinery of general governments, however cumbrous and costly, can be laid aside, and small communities can preserve, unimpaired, the advantages of extensive and unrestricted intercourse. No consolation of this kind, however, attends the perusal of the annals of Japanese conquests; nor will there be any place for such regrets when Loochoo, Corea, &c., shall be separated completely from that empire. The connexion has been withering to the vanquished and useless to the conqueror. Every friend of Eastern Asia and of man will celebrate the day of its dissolution; and every American, familiar with the subject, will rejoice if his own country may be the emancipator, provided only that it be done at the call of clear, unquestionable duty. Has the day for entertaining this question then arrived? Do the transactions detailed in this volume authorise the people of the United States to take the first of the steps, which may result in bringing about this liberation? Is there no just impediment at this, the outset? Can any circumstances justify the alternative? Shall the peaceful preliminaries, just proposed, be attempted, although

the Japanese government may reject all the demands of humanity under circumstances so aggravated as to draw on hostilities? God forbid that these questions should be asked in any other than a *right spirit* ! God forbid that they be answered in any other ! If an affirmative answer be returned, that—Christian duty does not forbid what *may* have such an end, despite our endeavors—the summer of 1838, the second centennial anniversary of the cruel triumph of Japanese barbarity, aided by Dutch cannon, over the last remnants of corrupted Christianity, may witness, in pacific determination, the approach of a better era. And while the American government is employed in giving security and comfort to its valuable shipping on the coasts of Japan ; in opening the way to beneficial intercourse ; and in promoting the amelioration of a grand division of Eastern Asia ; I am persuaded its citizens, at home and abroad, will do every thing to forward, and nothing to thwart, its noble purposes. Especially, should an immediate but imperfect, lodgement in Japan be effected, I should expect my countrymen to remember that their pure faith lies under prejudice there ; that Catholicism

has belied it there ; that the bearings of true Christianity on the relations of rulers and ruled, are misapprehended there ; that the monarch of Japan has yet to learn that the counsels of the Christian's God to him, "are for the lengthening of his tranquillity;" and that time and prudence only can cut off the long entail of ignorance and iniquity, introduce the principles of religious liberty, and make it certain that truth, great as it is, shall prevail. They will not forget that true toleration is the perfection, the last finish, of freedom ; and that there are few countries where the spirit wears no bonds, where the iron does not sometimes enter into the soul. They will not think it strange that Japanese philosophers should be no wiser, on this point, than those of Greece and Rome ; nor be surprised if the Kubo of the present day escape not the error of the mildest of Roman emperors, and identify, for a time, the maintenance of an ancient worship with the upholding of the laws of the land.* If,

* We are almost entirely ignorant of the religious system of Japan, but there is no reason to suppose that the *celestial origin* of the Dairi is any longer an article of faith, (M. Tit-singh says he is regarded as a curious piece of antique lackered

after all, I mistake the feelings of my countrymen ; if the value of the present opportunity be not felt ; if the policy which a little while ago planned an expedition to Japan, has unhappily lost its hold ; if all confidence in the government of the United States as the impersonation of the moral power of the nation, and as the destined amelioration, must be withdrawn ; still our hope in God and his providence should not be abandoned. After seeing the first attempt of the Executive of the U. States to influence Japan* frustrated, apparently because a happier moment was yet to arrive, well may we mourn if this reserved occasion, these better auspices, are permitted to lie neglected, to pass by. Still, if, for reasons which the writer of these notes cannot understand or appreciate, it must be so ; the emancipation of the Japanese people will not fail to ar-

ware,) or that the state religion owes its birth to the fancy which has created, elsewhere, the enormous fiction of a national soul, and invested piety with the garb of realism. We are nevertheless quite at a loss to estimate the strength of the interests which support the ancient superstition, or the attachment of the government to it, as an engine of state and a means of tranquillity.

* The expedition of the Peacock and Enterprise, in 1836, disconcerted by the death of E. Roberts, Esq.

rive at last ; and our business, as private men and Christians, still will be, to hasten the day so needlessly protracted.

I trust there is no need that I should guard this appeal to the government of the United States from the odium which must justly attach, in our day, to a mission in arms, to a religious crusade. My meaning is, in the first place, to treat the repulse of the Morrison, and the considerations connected with it, purely as a political question ; and to commend it, apart from all religious views, to the Executive, as a ground and occasion, not of hostilities, but of calm and just negotiation. If diplomacy fail ; if it be broken off by hostile and insulting treatment ; I point out, as in duty bound, the safest alternative, the only bloodless revenge, the most beneficent coercion I am acquainted with ; still retaining my conviction that hostilities are in no case to be hazarded. I would not commend the resort to an ultimatum, on any other grounds than that ill success is no dishonor ; least of all would I contribute to open a drama in eastern Asia, whose tragic scenes I should shudder to follow, and whose fearful denouement none could anticipate.

I have been the more inclined to press this appeal on the government of the United States, for the very reason that no other *can* approach it, as a purely political question; because no other government can prove its freedom from ecclesiastical motive, by proving that religion, either at home or abroad, never is or can be the object of its cognizance.

When political intervention has been refused or shall have failed, I fall back, as a private Christian, on those divine promises, which cannot fail or deceive us. And on them I should place my first and only reliance, did I not suppose—and in this I may be mistaken—that in our day, national influence may be one of the peaceful, life-preserving instruments of Providence for the amelioration of man; and that it is for these very ends that Christian nations, under religious rulers, are now the depositories of political, social, intellectual, universal superiority. If, in the judgment of the wise and the good, the government of my country either ought not or will not act this part; or if it will not carry out the purest principles in its public interposition, let a few years be given to the prepara-

tion of a purely spiritual instrumentality, and national interference be deprecated now and ever. And, however feeble this last agent may appear, however small the devoted company, on the barred and frowning gates of China and Japan, let it not fear to rush ; for on them it must sooner or later throw itself. It may be that no other arms than those of celestial temper can ever cut these bars asunder ; though memory recalls the fruitless conflicts of other centuries, and pity would spare the carnage of even a triumphant warfare, a glorious issue out of persecution. Believing, as I do, that America will never desist from her enterprises of benevolence until the world is Christianised, I press this appeal, because I regard it as prodigality of the blood of her best sons, for her government to refuse to prepare the way to lighten the labors or guard the persons of her missionaries, if pacific influence will do this ; while at the same time I hold it better that a thousand sacrifices should be offered on the altar of Christianity, than *one* at the shrine of false honor or worldly polity.

I will only add, on the part of the projectors

of the Morrison's voyage, that while the decision of the American government is waited for, the great object—free intercourse with Japan—will not be lost sight of. Probably before the appearance of these "Notes," two or three of the unfortunate Japanese will have arrived in the United States, under the care of Capt. Ingersoll; and may plead, at least to the eyes of Americans, in behalf of the people they represent, but to whom they belong no longer. The better educated of the same men will be retained at Macao as teachers of their language; books will be collected; and every preparation of this kind made to assist the public expedition; or, if it come not, to give effect to private attempts of the same character on the exclusive policy of the Japanese empire.

It now rests with the American government, as the first appellee, to give its judgment. Its decision will, of course, be known to the friends of civil and religious liberty in the United States before it can be to us. If favorable to the cause here advocated, we shall need their co-operation; if unfavorable, they will know that we look to them, and to them only. It will then become their part to assume the whole preparations, both

for the explanation and the execution of their benevolent purposes toward the Japanese people.

When, under their patronage, the Bible and its lessons of universal instruction are ready for distribution in the Japanese language, it may still be in the power of those associated with me to perform our part in scattering it and them along the shores of those favored and populous islands. If not, there exists in the association, which has been so long meditating the despatch of a mission ship to eastern Asia, an agent more deserving of their confidence as well as more powerful.

There was a time when the proposer of benevolent efforts like these, in behalf of Japan, would have to encounter arguments drawn from the distance of the object and the number of the claims on charity existing nearer home. But it is now agreed that there is nothing in the tactics of our warfare which requires the advancing army to leave no strong-hold unreduced behind. It is admitted now, that no practical man, be he merchant, or emigrant, or farmer, or what not, ever consents to surround himself with concen-

tric circles, the area of each of which must be exhausted before its line can be passed.

All men seize on the highest advantages within their reach ; and this same principle requires the directors of benevolent efforts to occupy the great centres of influence—the moral foci of the whole earth. Besides, where is the *American* so poor that he cannot possess the Bible ; and with this, how can his necessities be compared with those of men who have never so much as heard that there is a word of God ? Has *he* no higher privileges, civil and religious, than the Japanese ? Is he ever driven away, without a crime, into hopeless exile ? Is he ever compelled to abjure the hope of heaven—to trample on the cross ?

Let the same strict calculus be applied, then, to the claims of American benevolence, which ascertains the attractions of the heavenly bodies ; but let the magnitude as well as the distance of the object be taken into account, and we ask no larger appropriations to the weal of the thirty-six millions of Japan. Let the same principles be applied more extensively to the distribution of the means of beneficence, and it need no longer

be matter of apprehension, either that the claims of vicinity shall be overlooked, or that the temptation of a quick reward will attract toward petty tribes the regard due only to the great masses of mankind.

One more consideration I would request my countrymen to keep constantly in mind. Great Britain and the U. States divide, and will long divide, the maritime influence of the world. The government of the former nation may be said to be sated with colonial possessions, over-burdened with trans-oceanic cares. The benevolent classes in that country are centering their sympathies and efforts more and more every day on their colonial fellow-subjects; nor can any one say that they should not do so. I call attention to these facts, not to complain of them, but to infer from them that America is the hope of Asia beyond the Malayan peninsula; and that her noblest efforts will find a becoming theatre there. *There* is the grand scene of human probation, the vast coliseum of the moral world; and there I summon the ablest companions of my country's benevolence to appear.*

* It is not improbable that G. Britain will interfere in Chi-

To the friends of moral enterprise I would further say,—you need not fear that your beneficence must needs run wild, because it takes up a rapid and distant march. On the contrary, like the ship at sea, it is manageable only while it moves on, cutting the sidelong current, and dashing opposition from its track ; it fears the calm, and not the gale ; its steerage is perfect so long as it has “headway.” To the friends of East-

na ere long. But for what ? For the preservation of the revenue on opium in Bengal ; for the protection of an article which it is a shame even to the Chinese pagan to consume. Thus far, and no farther, will she interfere. I rejoice that America can approach this empire for better purposes and with cleaner hands ; that she can place herself as much above the charge of mercenary turpitude in China, as above the dread of colonial designs in the Archipelago, or the suspicion of ecclesiastical connexions in Japan. Oh ! when will she be sensible of her advantages ? When will she make her waiting honors her own ? Besides, I confess I am tired of hearing every allusion to American influence in behalf of E. Asia answered every day, as it now is, by men of all nations—“O, your government will never do any thing here.” I would silence the taunt, I would disappoint the sneer. I would not involve my country, by any means, in vast experiments of doubtful issue ; but have her send out her light troops ; at least a picquet-guard, a spy or two : if in the war upon eastern despotism she cannot maintain the “line.” And if her interference fail to do good, or if the time come when peaceful means, her moral power and generous attitude, are exhausted, and one single life must be perilled, let her call off her men of war, and let the blood of the missionary flow. For him *to die* is gain.

ern Asia in the U. States (and as the greater includes the less, I claim them all as well-wishers to Japan) I must once more say—let your answer to this imperfect appeal, if it have interested you, be promptly and actively expressed. The waters that gush the purest and most limpid from their fountains, by the laws of physical geography become saline and bitter if they find no outlet; so, by the laws of mind, the best desires and sympathies, that never reach their object, are turned to worthlessness and impurity. Friends of Eastern Asia, directors of the political, benevolent, religious influence of America, let it not be so with yours, with you.

I need not conceal my belief that Japan will more readily yield to and repay your efforts, than *this* empire, which it has been thought proper or necessary first to impress. It is not correct to regard either country as a stepping-stone, a gate to the other; and looking at them independently, then is this advantage on the side of success in Japan; its population, though great enough to merit and engage sympathy, is, compared with that of China, a small and easily permeable mass. Besides, it is accessible on every side; its popula-

tion, and even its capitals, lie near the shores ; its government can never repulse foreign influence, as the Chinese once endeavored to repress Japanese incursions, by withdrawing to the interior, and laying waste the coasts. From your exhibitions of foreign goodness, Japan cannot withdraw her eyes. When this empire shall yield to your efforts, public or private, "richer than Roman triumphs" will be the reward. Abroad, its example and its aid will exert great power; at home, the early enterprise and energy of the Japanese will revive again ; the men who were once selected, everywhere, as body-guards, for their courage and fidelity, will be bold and faithful propagators of the truth ; the old motto, "*ex oriente lux*," will be true again ; the statesman will rejoice to welcome a new member into the family of nations ; the Christian will be glad to share with these new brethren the favor and the heritage of Heaven.

In conclusion : an apology may appear to many to be due from the writer of these Notes, a mercantile man, for his frequent references to the conduct and extension of Christian missions

in the East. Such, however, is not his own impression. He conceives that we *may* apply to that exalted enterprise, with perfect truth, the striking language of Robert Hall—“*its foot is level with the dust*, while its summit penetrates the recesses of the unapproachable glory.” It is a cause which connects the humblest human instrumentality with the noblest purposes of Heaven. None are so high but they may be elevated by connexion with it ; *yet* none so poor but they may do it service.

He has often seen occasion to regret that many do not feel, that whoever stands one step higher than the uncivilised and the pagan, in the scale of excellence and happiness, may aid, should aid, in raising him *that one step* out of his unaided wretchedness. On this very principle he has made it his ambition to take off from consecrated hands around him some part of the manual labor of Missions ; to employ himself about the lower stories of that edifice which rests on liberty as its foundation, which rises through all the ascending forms of civilisation and refinement, and finds its topmost stone—its highest finish, in pure Christianity.

NAUTICAL MEMORANDA.

AIR, WATER, BAROMETER, CURRENTS, WINDS, WEATHER, &c.

Date.	Lat. N.	Long. E.	Air.	W'r	Barom.	Currents.	Winds, Weather, &c.
July 6th	21° 44'	115° 56'	83½°	83½	29 60	None.	Light westerly breeze and fine.
"	21 26	119 07	83½	83½	29 59	None.	Fine br'ze w'd, cld'y, and threat'ng.
"	22 00	121 57	83	82½	29 47	W'yly 20 min.	West, strong gale, high sea.
"	22 39	123 02	83	83	29 45	None.	West strong, N. by W. mod. heavy sea, rainy.
"	23 24	123 46	82½	82	29 56	None.	North variable, calm, rainy, h'vy sea
"	24 56	125 25	83	83	29 67	N. 55° E. 23'	SW squally, some rain, strong br'ze
"	In Loo	Choo harbor or Napakiang roads.				N. 45° E. 35'	South, fine weather.
"	13th	"	82	78	29 85	"	S. S. E. fine.
"	14th	"	81	77	29 95	"	East, fine.
"	15th	"	80½	78	29 95	"	E. N. E. fine.
"	25 58	127 50	82	80½	29 88	None.	Eastward, fine.
"	27 03	129 05	81	79½	29 84	None.	South Eastward, fine, light.
"	27 50	130 06	83	80½	29 90	None.	S. Eastward, fine, light.
"	28 12	130 50	82	80½	29 89	N. 45° E. 12'	Calm, North, light, fine.
"	28 51	132 24	83	82	29 90	N. 6°	Calm, N'd, light, fine.

AIR, WATER, BAROMETER, CURRENTS, WINDS, WEATHER, &c.

Date.	Lat. N.	Long. E.	Air.	W'r	Barom.	Currents.	Winds, Weather, &c.
July 21st	29 21	133 06	82	82	29 86	None.	Calm, N'd, calm, fine.
" 22nd	29 36	133 42	83	82	29 86	S. 45° W. 11'	Between N N W and S, very faint, calms and fine.
" 23rd	29 50	134 32	83	82	29 88½	S. 20'	Variable, faint, fine.
" 24th	30 01	135 05	83	82	29 89	S. 11° W. 26'	Faint airs, calms, &c., variable.
" 25th	29 56	134 53	83	83	29 88	S. 6° W. 37'	Calm, generally faint, variable airs.
" 26th	30 56	134 38	84	83	29 88	S. 40° W. 38'	Light S E. fresh East, fine.
" 27th	32 14	135 47	83	83	29 88	S. 11° W. 5'	Moderate and fine, Eastward.
" 28th	33 26	137 14	81½	82	29 86	N. 52° E. 53'	Faint S E, calm, West, faint.
" 29th	34 22	138 24	78	80	29 80	N. 35° E. 43'	Faint W'd, fine breeze E'd, clear.
" 30th	In Jeddo Bay	or near.			29 70	N. 35° E. 40'	Fresh, E'd, rainy, and squally.
" 31st	"	"			29 60	"	Eastward strong, squally.
Aug. 1st	33 21	136 50	80	79½	29 46	None.	Strong E'd, fine weather, NW fresh fine.
" 2nd	31 46	135 25	80½	80	29 46	{ E. 26 S. S. 64° E. 39'	Moderate W N W, North fine.
" 3rd	31 53	132 57	81	80	29 59	N. 70° E. 43'	Clever b'ze, N'd rough sea, E'd fine.
" 4th	31 30	132 44	80½	80	29 64	N. 57° E. 40'	E'd faint, calm, fine.
" 5th	31 11	132 12	80½	81	29 69	N. 63° E. 79'	E'd faint, fine.
" 6th	31 17	132 50	81½	82½	29 71	N. 63° E. 65'	Light, variable airs and calm, fine.
" 7th	31 23	132 28	82½	81	29 76	N. 57° E. 58'	S'd faint and calm

AIR, WATER, BAROMETER, CURRENTS, WINDS, WEATHER, &c.

Date.	Lat. N.	Long. E.	Air.	W'r	Barom.	Currents.	Winds, Weather, &c.
Aug. 8th	31 35	131 30	81½	81½	29 71	E. 36'	S'd faint, fine.
" 9th	31 06	130 55	82	80½	29 75	S'd 20 minutes along the land	S W light, calm, variable.
" 10th to 13th	in Kagosima Bay.				29 70 to 80	Tides SE, NW	S S W squally, fresh and calm.
" 14th	30 40		82½	82	29 80	E. 20	S W'd calm, squally, &c.
" 15th	30 59	128 32	83	83	29 90	None.	Steady breeze, S W'd fine.
" 16th	31 20	127 12	83	82	29 97	None.	Fresh S W'd fine.
" 17th	30 59	127 04	83	82	29 95	None.	Light S W'd fine.
" 18th	30 51	126 06	82	82	29 90	N. 68° E. 30'	S'd light, fine.
" 19th	30 33	124 57	82	82	29 85'	N. 64° W. 18'	S'd light, fine.
" 20th	30 12	124 12	84	83	29 72	S. 45° W. 9'	S W'd faint, breeze fine.
" 21st	29 28	123 28	82½	84	29 80	None.	SSE faint, NNE light, fine.
" 22nd	27 21	122 26	82½	83	29 70	N. 60° E. 28'	NE moderate, NE strong, squally.
" 23rd	24 52.	119 40	81½	81	29 52	N. 18° E. 17'	NE moderate, fine.
" 24th.	23 37	118 35	81½	79	29 46	N. 22° E. 12,	NE light, calm, West'd fine.
" 25th	23 46	118 06	81	78	29 40	N. 65° E. 11'	S W light, weather looking threatening part of the day.
" 26th	23 29	118 02	79	84	29 65	N. 40° E. 16'	SW light breeze.
" 27th	23 19	117 56	81	80	29 64	N. 64° E. 24'	Calm, hot, slight breeze S W by S, squally off land.
" 28th	22 35	116 59	83	83	29 72	N. 57° E. 33'	Fine breeze SSE, calm and squally at intervals.
" 29th	Macao.						

The above Table shows the more important memoranda of the short voyage of the Morrison, and to it, in the absence of Capt. Ingersoll, only a few observations will be added.

The voyage may be divided into four parts.

The run from Macao to Napa, July 4		
to 12th.		875 m's.
Do. Do.	Napa to Bay of Yed-	
do, 15 to 30.		930
Do. Do.	Yeddo to Kagosima,	
Aug. 1 to 10.		911
Do Do.	Kagosima to Macao,	
12 to 29.		1,535

Log distance, 4,251

These runs are, of course, from land to land, and the figures show the ship's way through the water, without respect to tides or currents.

On the first of these divisions very little need be said in explanation of the memoranda.

In the present instance, the southern passage into the Pacific was probably well chosen, a fair wind being carried as far as Botel Tobago; and the gale, felt by the Raleigh north of the Hachi-

cosima group, almost entirely avoided. Future navigators, who may find a south-west wind drawing strongly up the Formosa channel, will be fully justified in taking that route, which is rather more direct, and which will usually secure, in the south-west monsoon, some aid from the current. With westerly winds and thick weather, the broader Bashee passage is preferable.

It is to be hoped that some navigator will, ere long, use it, who shall have leisure and weather to examine the Botel Tobago Islands, and the yet unsurveyed eastern coast of Formosa. Still more desirable is it that the American Executive avail of the aid of one or two of the native Japanese now at Macao, to conduct, at the same time, an investigation into the relics of Japanese influence over these insular shores, and to foster some independent communities on this verge of the grand systems of Eastern exclusion—on these borders of Japan and China.

It is also worth while to call the navigator's especial attention to the changes of the barometer, in order to determine, whether in these seas the mercury does restore itself more easily than elsewhere, from depression, *without a gale* ; a fact

to which M. Krusenstern has given support, and of which some evidence was several times had, in the course of the present voyage.

Perhaps the vicinity to the vast Pacific may be found to render such gradual equalisation frequent and complete without the usual rush of atmospheric currents.

The attention of future passers-by is particularly called to the Hachicosima group, which form a part of the insular chain that connects Formosa with the Japanese Islands; and in a more extensive view constitute one of the weakest portions of the vast breakwater of continental Asia on the east, extending from Borneo to Kamschatka. The examination of these islands will perhaps result in benefit to the cause of Eastern civilisation, as well as in the gratification of nautical curiosity.

The observations of Capt. Ingersoll place the East point of Typinsan in $125^{\circ} 25' \text{ E. lon.}$ 18 miles east of its position in Horsburg; and on the chart used by him,—one of the late and excellent productions of the Russian Admiralty,—the latitude of the island requires no correction. It will be seen from the Table, that a current of nearly

1 mile per hour was felt in the vicinity of this group ; but farther observations are required before this set can be pronounced regular, or connected with that great system of currents which prevail on the coasts of the Japanese islands.

The azimuth compass was not tried until near Loochoo, when it gave a mean of 5° westerly variation.

The numerous and exact observers who have visited Napa Kiang preclude all remark on its position, except the necessary one, that the instruments in use on board the Morrison gave the same results, very nearly.*

The hasty investigations made by the officers of the Morrison confirmed the impression of Capt. Beechey that the "north entrance" to the road of Napa should not be tried by any but small vessels.

In the act of leaving this harbor, it was remarked that the coral reef off Cemetery Point has a greater extension than the chart gives it,

* The stayer at home may imagine how much trouble is taken to tell him *where* a place is, on hearing that the longitude assigned by M. Krusenstern to Nagasaki is the mean of a thousand lunar observations.

or that detached masses of coral, lying farther off the ledge, have hitherto escaped observation.

As a port, Napa appeared over-rated ; its small extent, its coral formation, and its exposure to the west, depriving it of the essential characteristics of a good harbor. As a port of refreshment, it is, under the present system, of little or no value ; though capable of affording ample supplies if once liberated from Japanese domination.

The second part of this voyage was made in calm, fine weather, over a smooth sea, with a high barometer and thermometer. This was unexpected to the whole party, all having laid their account with fresh S. E. winds from the Pacific, and not entirely unprepared for some small share of the rougher favors of Eolus, whose favorite haunts the early navigators supposed to be in the Japanese waters. If this mild weather, this stillness of the atmosphere, *do* prevail in the summer from Loochoo to Nippon, it becomes a matter of great importance to the navigator, unless he be so happy as to move by steam, to enlist a current in his favor.

So far as the experience of the present voyage

extends, no open ocean is better adapted for steam power ; but in its absence, the best course probably is, to keep on the west side of Loochoo, following the chain of islands which connects it with Kiusiu ; and after approaching the S. point of Tanega-sima, to strike off with the fair current to the E. N. eastward.

Probably the passage of the Morrison was considerably prolonged, by deviating from this route and taking the more direct one round the south point of Loochoo, to Cape Izou, the western limit of the bay of Yeddo. A reference to the Table will show that two currents were experienced south of the Japanese islands ; the first of which, running south to south 45° west, was first felt in about $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat., acquired the strength of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour between 30° and 31° , and ceased again to be perceptible in 32° N. lat.

The second and opposite current was met almost at the instant of emerging from the other one ; the transition being unattended with any change in the wind or weather. Its greatest strength was 52 miles in 24 hours, direction N. 35° to 52° east, and running quite up into the outer bay of Yeddo.

Both of these currents seem too strong to be either the eddy of the other; probably they are both connected with the flow of water down the E. coasts of Nippon in the spring, and with the current propelled by the S. West monsoon up the coast of China in the summer. The Japanese, acquainted only with coast navigation, regard the *inner* as the true current, and represent it as running pretty steadily along the south shore of Nippon.

Whatever be the causes which give their velocity to these currents, it is evident that to know and avail of them is a matter of great importance to the navigator.

After losing sight of Loochoo, two islands were passed successively at the distance of 20 miles, the former estimated to be in $27^{\circ} 03'$ N. lat. and $128^{\circ} 49'$ E. lon., the latter in $28^{\circ} 06'$ N. lat. and $129^{\circ} 56'$ E. lon. These may be discoveries; but more probably they are new positions for "Werkido" and "Bungelow" islands.

The azimuth variation was on the 20th

4° 37' W.

22—5°

27—1° 30'

On approaching the Japanese coast, the long calm was broken by a freshening east wind, and Cape Tootoomy was made the 29th in lon. $138^{\circ} 3' 15''$ lon. by chart $138^{\circ} 19'$. Entering the outer bay of Yeddo, squalls, with rain, were felt; and it was evident that we were within the influence of those numerous and lofty peaks and ridges which condense the moisture of the surrounding ocean, envelope the country in clouds, and give to the summer of Japan the character of the rainy season.

The western entrance of this noble estuary, so finely indicated by Mt. Fusi, is impeded by a rock above water, which was introduced into the chart as an important correction.

Of the group which stretches from the bay, south by east to Fatsisio, only a perspective view could be taken. Their bearings did not correspond with those of the chart, but only a sketch of these are given, for the purpose of calling further attention to them.

Observations by chronometer made

Cape Izou, in $138^{\circ} 31'$; do. by chart $138^{\circ} 49'$

Cape Sagami, $138^{\circ} 20'$; do. $138^{\circ} 41'$.

The rains, which fell in frequent showers,

through the short stay of the party in the bay of Yeddo, precluded farther observations. Generally the chart surprised by its correctness ; particularly as a great part of it is understood to be compiled from native information.

Between Cape Sagami and Oura-gawa, three islets are laid down, only one of which we could discover to be in existence.

The anchorage of the Morrison, 2 miles south of Oura-gawa (20 miles from Yeddo), was nearly a mile from the shore, in 8 to 10 fathoms, uneven bottom. The depth of water increased to 21 fathoms $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the shore, and here a ship would of course be out of the range of cannon.

Some of the Japanese on board, and who had, by their own account, made 20 voyages to Yeddo, represented the great inner bay as shallow ; the only channel running along the Western bank, and ceasing to be navigable for large junks, 8 miles beyond Oura-gawa, whence the small craft only make their way, 12 miles farther, to that capital. But little tide was perceptible at the anchorage.

The barometer again declined to 29.43, as the harbor of Yeddo was left on the 1st August ; but

no gale followed. The same rapid current which had aided the approach, was now to be encountered on the departure; and from Cape Sagami to Cape D'Anville, it was felt without intermission, running N. 57° E. to East, with the velocity of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles per hour. The intention to touch again on the Japanese coast alone prevented the avoiding this current by steering more to the southward. By the course pursued, the opposing set was stemmed until close to the shore of Kiusiu, where a small eddy was enjoyed, running to the southward.

The same discrepancy between the observations and the charts was again remarked, on making Cape D'Anville, the former placing it in $131^{\circ} 03'$ E. lon., and the latter in $131^{\circ} 20'$.

Until the voyage of M. Krusenstern in 1804, the greatest uncertainty existed as to the straits of Van Diemen, and the number, position, and extent of the islands forming its southern limits. To his observations, the constant obscurity of the weather would have prevented any important additions in this quarter, had their accuracy admitted correction. It will be seen that some little change is made in the coast line of the west side of Ka-

gósima Bay, and some new dangers pointed out among the islands. The most important of these are the "Morrison Rocks," in $30^{\circ} 50'$ N. lat., and $129^{\circ} 04'$ E. lon. The Morrison was not permitted to proceed to Miabana, the Oura-gawa of Kagósima, but was carried by a Japanese pilot to an outer anchorage, exposed to the sea from S. S. E. to S. W. by W., when she was brought up $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the bank in $7\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms. M. Krusenstern has observed, that high water takes place in the straits of Van Diemen at 9 o'clock, on new and full moon; and that the flow is to the N. E., and ebb to the S. Westward.

The great difficulty experienced, on the last division of the voyage, in getting to the southward, is some evidence that *this track is a proper one for vessels bound to the northward.* A reference to the Table will show that a current from the S. and West was felt through the whole return passage to Macao, three days excepted.

On the 19th the lead was tried, and bottom found in thirty-four fathoms, on that great bank off the coast of Kiangnan, formed chiefly by the deposit of the great rivers of China, though aided, perhaps, by a meeting of conflicting currents.

This great deposit probably extends beyond 126° E. lon. ; and the navigator who has time and opportunity, would do well to ascertain its exact limits. The fine particles, apparently of vegetable origin which filled the water on this bank, and the unctuous, fetid scum which covered it in broad stripes, have already been mentioned. A long succession of baffling winds was succeeded, on the 23d, by a fine north-easter, carrying us forward two hundred and thirty-five miles in twenty-four hours, and leaving us, off the port of Amoy, in about 25° N. lat. The prevalence of such a breeze in this region, and at this season, was as unexpected as it was welcome. Another short period of baffling winds succeeded, when a breeze from the southward sprung up, and closed this voyage at the roads of Macao, on the 29th of August. For several of these last days the barometer had been depressed—29.40 the lowest point—but without any consequent bad weather.

I am sorry to add that the instruments in use on board the Morrison, and which were verified by comparisons of results at Napa, as well as by lunar observations, on the passage to Yeddo, were found, on the return to Macao, to be twenty-four

miles west in error. Still Capt. Ingersoll thinks the observations made *on the Japanese coasts*, may be depended on. Their results are not, however, introduced into the chart as corrections, but related here in preference, for the navigator's caution and the verification of the future observer.

THE END.



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